THE NATURE AND THE EXTENT OF THE RELATIONSHIPS DIVORCED MEN MAINTAIN WITH THEIR FIRST FAMILIES

By

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THE NATURE AND THE EXTENT OF THE RELATIONSHIPS DIVORCED MEN MAINTAIN WITH THEIR FIRST FAMILIES

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This study examines the relationships that continue between father and child and between ex-spouses after divorce. A convenience sample was used consisting of 101 men. The better educated, white Protestant predominated with Protestants being in the majority across all social classes.

Based on an assumption of post-divorce normlessness and a review of the literature on role conflict and social structure, three hypotheses were developed for testing. The first predicted that personal father-child contacts and voluntary child support would decrease with the remarriage of either ex-spouse.

The second hypothesis predicted that the way in which arrangements for child support and visiting were made at the time of the divorce would depend on the ex-wife's satisfaction with pre-divorce paternal role performance. If paternal role performance was not an issue in the divorce, arrangements for support and visiting would

more likely be derived by mutual consent. If performance was an issue, arrangements would more likely be negotiated by a third party.

The third hypothesis predicted that middle class fathers would be more likely to have custody, or have their children living with them, than either upper class or lower class fathers.

From chi-square analysis, statistically significant decreases in visiting frequency were found after the remarriage of either ex-spouse ($P < .05$). The decrease was greater following the remarriage of the ex-wife. Frequency of mail and phone contacts remained relatively stable with phone contacts increasing slightly after the remarriage of the ex-wife. Voluntary contributions for support increased after the remarriage of the father but decreased after the remarriage of the ex-wife.

An examination of 11 other variables showed that the decline in visiting after remarriage was consistent. Only geographic distance reached significance as an intervening variable. Those men living closer to their children visited more frequently than those living over 150 miles away ($P < .01$ at the remarriage of the father and $P < .001$ at the remarriage of the ex-wife). Other variables which showed indications of negative influences on visiting were lower class standing, being Protestant, being delinquent in ordered support payments and the ex-wife opposing visiting.

Child support arrangements were negotiated by a third party in 79% of the cases while third party negotiations for visiting occurred in 37% of the cases. In neither case did pre-divorce

paternal role performance have an effect on how these arrangements were made.

Two intervening variables influenced how visiting arrangements were made. Catholics used third party intervention more frequently than Protestants ($P < .05$). Middle class fathers arranged visiting by mutual consent more frequently than lower class fathers (NS).

Middle class men were found more likely to have custody of their children or have their children living with them, than either upper or lower class men. The custody finding was significant ($P < .05$) and the living arrangement finding approached significance ($P = .08$). Although not significant, Catholics were less likely to have custody or have a child living with them than Protestants.

From the data pertaining to the second hypothesis and an examination of the literature on role bargaining, an additional hypothesis was developed predicting that heavily sanctioned roles are more likely to be negotiated through institutionalized means than by mutual consent. Further research is suggested to test the prediction.

CHAPTER I

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Since World War II the problem of divorce has attracted an increasing amount of attention as both the public and those affected began to struggle with the meaning of marital separation for individuals and society at large. In addition to the investigations of the social scientist, contributors to the literature have included judges and attorneys, social workers, other helping professionals and the participants themselves. This growing interest in divorce has resulted in a spate of personal accounts, legal and tax advice, economic studies and counseling books as well as the formation of Parents Without Partners. This group, organized in 1958 as a self-help group to assist divorced parents in their struggle against the isolation imposed by society on the divorced person, has proved to be an important source of information (Bernard, 1971, p. 9; Weiss, 1975, p. x).

Sell (1978) has compiled a comprehensive bibliography of all divorce related literature published in the United States from 1970 to 1978. He has classified this literature into 21 different categories, indicative of the wide variety of disciplines and publics interested in this topic.

For the family sociologist the foundation of divorce research has been the social-demographic study. The primary thrust of these

studies is the examination of such variables as length of marriage, age at marriage, education, occupation, residence, religion and race as factors relating to the occurrence of divorce. Typical of post-World War II studies of this nature are Jacobsen (1950), Ackerman (1963), Bernard (1966) and Bumpass and Sweet (1972). The findings have been remarkably consistent and have succeeded in isolating significant variables of importance. Their usefulness was considerably enhanced by the Bumpass and Sweet research which made use of multi-variate analysis to shed light on the relative importance of these variables.

One aspect of divorce that has received relatively little attention is the continuing relationship between ex-spouses, and between father and child, after marital separation. The purpose of this paper is to examine these post-divorce relationships. The basic assumptions on which the examination will be made are that norms are lacking to help ex-spouses define post-divorce roles, that this normlessness will produce role conflict and that existing social structures make it difficult to experiment with new roles.

Based on these assumptions a theoretical framework will be developed from which hypotheses will be constructed for testing. This will be followed by a review of the literature on post-divorce relationships and behaviors which might yield information pertaining to the assumptions and the hypotheses. Succeeding chapters will deal with the methods employed for gathering the data, a discussion of the findings, the data analysis and test of the hypotheses,

a discussion of the analysis and a summary and evaluation of the study.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The assumption that few norms exist to assist former family members in establishing functional relationships after divorce has had considerable acceptance among social scientists who have been students of family life. It has been noted that institutional structures do not exist to order relationships between ex-spouses, between noncustodial parents and children or between divorced persons and the larger kin network and the community (Goode, 1965; Bohannen, 1971; Mead, 1971). Goode in particular has pointed out that the kinship structure has been ambiguous concerning the rights of divorced persons to material or emotional support, re-admission to the former kinship structure, the formation of new families and the proper behavior of ex-spouses to each other (pp. 8-15). He also suggests that this failure to institutionalize post-divorce positions functions to encourage a rapid resumption of marital status by making divorced persons uncomfortable with positions so lacking in role specificity (pp. 206-208).

The second assumption follows from the first. It is that this lack of role prescriptions to guide post-divorce relationships will produce conflict between occupants of post-divorce statuses.

The third assumption is that those few social structures that do exist may no longer be seen as functional by some occupants of

post-divorce statuses; however, the existence of these structures will serve to prohibit experimentation with new role definitions which might prove to be more satisfying.

Although several post-divorce statuses will be considered in this study the one of primary interest is the divorced male as father. It has been suggested that the normative order for paternal behavior varies from culture to culture and has changed over time in contrast to maternal roles which are seen as invariant in both time and space. Little research has been devoted to paternal roles and what has been done is based on information collected from mothers and children rather than from the fathers themselves. Nevertheless, the father role has been observed to be deteriorating in Western culture and divorce is a potential threat to that role (Benson, 1968, pp. 3-22; Lynn, 1974, pp. 5-12). Following divorce the obligations attendant upon this role must be fulfilled from a distance both physical and social in nature. Thus the obligations assumed by the individual father become more difficult to fulfill.

Two theoretical conceptions seem to offer a base from which hypotheses can be developed to examine post-divorce behavior. One is found in the literature pertaining to role conflict and role bargaining and the second in the literature pertaining to social structure and deviance. These three concepts (role conflict, role bargaining and social structure) will be discussed and their connection to post-divorce behavior explained. From these discussions hypotheses for testing will be developed.

Role Conflict

Most of the research concerning role conflict has been conducted within bureaucratic structures (Kahn, Wolfe, Quinn, Snoeck, & Rosenthal, 1964, p. vii). The delineation of significant concepts can be found in these studies as well as the theoretical studies which preceded them. While role conflict can come from several sources and be of varying types, basic to all role conflict is the fact that various members of a role set can hold differing expectations of the requirements of a given role.

Goode (1960) suggests that the norms of society are not a sufficient guide for individual action. Continuity in social roles can be affected by variations in social class, conflicts over values and ideals, disagreement over the interpretation of obligations and changes in social position. In addition to problems of continuity, conflict can arise over the allocation of resources to a given role or the role may have conflict inherent in it. He concludes that the total number of role obligations for any one person will always exceed his available resources.

This is also supported by Merton (1957) who has discussed the conflict inherent in role-sets which he defines as the complement of role relationships attached to a particular status. That is, an actor in any one of his roles will have a number of people with whom he will engage in mutual interaction and each person will make his own particular demands upon the actor. Merton proposes, as does Goode, that conflict is residual in such structures.

Role conflict for the divorced man can assume particular significance over time. When first divorced the number of role obligations lessens. He is no longer a husband. In fact he may, in the initial post-divorce period, increase his parental role commitments and spend more time with his children than before (Weiss, 1975, pp. 187-198). Differing expectations concerning his paternal role can come from a multitude of others besides the expectations of self, ex-wife, and children. Significant others in the situation could consist of family on both sides as well as a whole array of new relationships as both ex-wife and divorced father add to their role sets through remarriage. For the divorced father the potential accumulation of new role obligations is quite high. Beyond new role obligations the potential number of people peripherally involved outside of his role-sets can become even higher (Bohannen, 1970, pp. 132-137). For example, if a divorced father wishes to have his children for a summer visit he may have to take into consideration the plans of his ex-wife and her husband, his ex-wife's stepchildren and their mother and the new children of his ex-wife and her husband. On his side he may have to consider the plans of his new wife, his stepchildren, the new children of the present marriage and his new wife's ex-husband plus the ex-husband's new wife and their children. That these new relationships are likely to exist is not imaginative. Studies indicate that the median length of time between divorce and remarriage is now approximately three years and that four out of five persons of middle

age will remarry after their first divorce (Current Population Reports, 1976).

The stresses imposed by conflicting expectations, the accumulation of additional role obligations, inadequate resources and lack of time are not limited to the divorced father. The ex-wife has to cope with a variety of instrumental and expressive roles which have been vacated by the ex-husband, some of which she may be ill-prepared to fulfill (Bogue, 1949, p. 212; Weiss, 1975, pp. 167-187).

When conflict becomes sufficiently great to preclude adequate role performance steps will be taken to resolve it. Many accommodations can be made to reduce strain and resolve conflict but one alternative, which is consistently referred to in the literature, is some form of role reduction or role abandonment (Buchard, 1954; Getzels & Guba, 1954; Goode,1960; Shaw & Constanzo, 1970; Stouffer, 1949; Thibaut & Faucheux, 1964; Toby, 1964; Wardell, 1955). Goode suggests two basic ways in which roles can be reduced. One is by manipulating the number of roles and the other is by bargaining between roles. One method of manipulation is the elimination of the role through the establishment of techniques to keep others from continuing the role relationship.

However, eliminating a role and negotiating a new role through bargaining are quite different solutions to the problem of role conflict. One is essentially negative while the other at least includes the possibility of mutually acceptable role re-definitions.

A further examination of each of these potential courses of action as they relate to divorced fathers will lead to the formulation of two hypotheses predicting how some post-divorce role conflicts may be resolved.

Role Elimination

The increase in the family role obligations of the divorced man is a function of remarriage and may include those of husband, stepfather and new father. With each additional obligation, the available resources for allocation as father to his first children are reduced. Subject to external pressures to reduce his obligations to his first children and subject to whatever internal demands to fulfill those obligations he may feel, reduction or abandonment of his role or the use of techniques to keep others from continuing the relationship are possible alternatives.

At the same time his ex-wife and the children may be adding role obligations as she remarries and furnishes the children with a stepfather. The reduction of role relationships for them may also be desirable. Therefore, the impetus toward role reduction or elimination may come from either ex-spouse. The reduction or elimination is most likely to occur in the resources allocated to the child by the divorced father assuming he is the noncustodial parent.

Hypothesis #1

As the number of role obligations for either ex-spouse increases, the resources allocated by the father to the children of the previous marriage will decrease.

Role Bargaining

There is little in the literature that explains how role bargaining takes place and results in the establishment of new roles. Role bargaining is influenced by both the internal demands of the actor as well as the relative pressures of external change (Goode, 1960). Pressure can be caused by the finite sum of resources, the extent to which resources have already been expended and the costs imposed by others. Others can include the ex-wife, her new husband and the new wife of the divorced father.

Thornton and Nardi (1975) have suggested a four-stage process delineating how new roles are acquired. While it deals with normative roles, a look at the process may help identify those points at which role negotiations may break down because of the absence of norms. First is an anticipatory stage based on the concept of anticipatory socialization. Prior to assuming a new role an actor learns the expectations of that role from generalized society and social stereotypes. The second, formal stage occurs when the actor becomes an incumbent of the new role and is socialized by the members of the role set. There is high consensus both within and between sources of information and the actor's reactions to these expectations is postponed. He accepts the interpretation of the

role made by others in the role-set and does not attempt to modify their interpretations by interpretations of his own. In the third stage, which is termed the informal stage, the actor learns the informal requirements of the role rather than the obligations of the normative order. These informal requirements provide for some variability in performance and to some degree the actor can shape the role to his individual requirements. In the last stage the actor can influence the expectations of others and "personalize" the role to relate his own psychological needs to those of the role. The role can now be internalized.

In applying the model to the newly divorced father several exceptions must be noted. First is the absence of an anticipatory stage. The strains of dissolving the personal relationship between husband and wife may not leave much room for anticipating the change in father-child relationships that divorce will bring. The symbolic authority of the father is gone (Weiss, 1975, pp. 187-198). A new role has to be negotiated without the anticipatory socialization process that may come from reference groups (Merton, 1968, pp. 281-301).

The newly separated father, lacking the guidelines customarily received through anticipatory socialization, must immediately move into the second stage which is based on expectations of the role set. Thornton and Nardi (1975) suppose high consensus at this point based on the expectations of stage one. Since stage one is nonexistent the father is forced to rely on the previous role

relationship with mother and child for guidance. As Getzels and Guba (1954) point out, however, conflict in a role depends in part on the degree of incompatability that exists. If conflict predominated in the previous role relationships, consensus is less likely to occur. But, if the performance of the father role was not a significant issue in the divorce, it can be assumed that the steps in the model will take their course and the members will be able to successfully negotiate the necessary changes in paternal roles between themselves. If disagreement over paternal role performance was so great prior to the divorce that it became a cause for the divorce, it is unlikely that post-divorce paternal roles will be redefined without the aid of some third party. Usually this third party will appear within institutional structures such as court action, legal or professional advice and friend or kinship networks.

Hypothesis #2

The use of third parties to negotiate post-divorce paternal roles will be more likely to occur if pre-divorce paternal role performance was seen as unsatisfactory by the ex-wife.

Social Structure and Deviance

So far role conflict has been discussed in terms of individual interpretations of expected role behaviors in the absence of normative order. However, social structure may also fail to provide the means by which role requirements can be achieved (Turner, 1962;

Merton, 1968; Komarovsky, 1973). Merton points out that social and cultural structures contain two elements. The first consists of culturally defined goals and the second of modes or institutionalized means of meeting those goals. While both reflect cultural values, the values represented by the norms which regulate conduct serve to limit the choices available for attaining cultural goals. His main hypothesis is that nonconforming behavior may be seen as a dissociation between cultural goals and institutionalized means.

He goes on to develop a five-stage typology of modes of individual adaptation, the last one of which will form the basis for the third hypothesis. He presupposes that alienation from established goals and standards occurs when these goals and standards have come to be seen as purely arbitrary. The result is that neither goals or cultural means are seen as legitimate and the response is a form of rebellion that seeks to modify social structure.

Merton concludes by suggesting that rebellion is most likely to be engaged in by members of a rising class rather than depressed classes. He uses as his example the 19th century bourgeoisie of France (pp. 185-248).

Traditionally legal custody is awarded to the mother and the child lives with the mother following divorce. Although father custody and various forms of co-parenting have been the source of much popular discussion of late, only one-tenth of the children living with a divorced parent live with the father. While the absolute number of such cases has increased, the percentage has

remained constant for the past two decades (Current Population Reports, 1979).

The human potential and liberation movements have emphasized freedom from arbitrary sex-stereotyped roles in all areas of life. Frequently included among their targets are the male instrumental and the female expressive roles. The greatest participation in these movements has been in the middle classes; therefore, it seems most likely that they would be the first to rebel against traditional parental roles and seek alternative ways of responding to them. One way of doing this is for the father to take legal custody or be the custodial parent.

Hypothesis #3

Middle class divorced parents will be more likely to reject traditional custody and living arrangements than upper class or lower class divorced parents.

CHAPTER III

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The review of the divorce literature will consist of those studies dealing with post-divorce relationships between ex-spouses and between father and child. The information presented from each study will be limited to that which sheds light on the three basic assumptions and the variables identified in the theoretical framework.

There are three major studies that deal all, or in part, with post-divorce relationships. The first is Goode's After Divorce published in 1956 and re-published as Women in Divorce in 1965. In addition to looking at both the causal and processual features of divorce, he extensively examined post-marital activities and adjustments including the continuing relationship between ex-spouses. This latter issue was not dealt with again, at least not in such detail, until the publication of Weiss's book Marital Separation in 1975. Weiss's work is devoted to the post-separation period and includes information on parent-child relationships as well as those of ex-spouses. These two works, plus the work of Heatherington, Cox and Cox (1976), represent the major studies in the continuing relationship between divorced men and their first families. This latter work is in progress, but a preliminary report was published in the Family Coordinator in 1976. These works are major in the

sense that they are comprehensive in scope and involve either large samples or are longitudinal in nature. The Weiss (1975) and Heatherington et al. (1976) studies involve middle class populations only.

These three major studies will be discussed first, followed by the findings of nine minor studies which also deal with either the continuing relationships between ex-spouses or continuing father-child relationships. These latter studies are classified as minor in the sense that they involve either small convenience samples, usually weighted with middle class respondents, or only deal with a single issue.

Major Studies

Goode's (1965) study involved 425 divorced mothers in metropolitan Detroit who were between the ages of 20 and 38 at the time of divorce. The length of time divorced ranged from two months to 26 months. Goode tapped a wide variety of post-divorce behaviors and situations, a few of which are particularly pertinent to this study. Interviews were held with the divorced woman only and comments regarding the behavior of the ex-husband are based on the ex-wife's perceptions.

Goode notes that the divorce process may continue long after the divorce decree is granted. Ex-spouses continue to exist for each other symbolically and, if there are children, a channel is provided through which each can make demands on the other--she for child support and he for visitation (pp. 287, 313).

The respondents in his study reported a low level of continuous child support with only 35% reporting regular payments and 40% reporting payments as rare or never. There were two factors mediating payment continuity. The first was ability to pay with the significant issue not amount of earnings but steadiness of employment. Frequent unemployment resulted in less frequent payments. The second effect on payment continuity was the relationship with the ex-wife. Resentment over making payments, the wife originating divorce and her remarriage all affected payment continuity negatively (pp. 222-225).

Goode speculates that paternal visiting will decrease in frequency as the father finds visits less pleasurable than expected, as he takes on new role obligations and as his children move into settled patterns of behavior for which visits may be disruptive. Furthermore, each visit carries the burden of another separation which may become chilling. While no frequency studies were conducted, respondents were asked to comment on the desired frequency of visits. Expressed desires for less frequent visits were related to steadiness of payments, her remarriage, negative post-visit behavior on the part of the children, feelings of emotional distance from the father expressed by the children and the ex-wife's desire to punish her ex-husband (pp. 313-330).

The continuation of affect after divorce was examined based on an index measuring the intensity of contacts rather than the frequency. Four trends were noticed. The percentage of women reporting

a strong positive affect declined and the percentage of those reporting indifference arose. Those reporting a friendly relationship also declined. The percentage of those reporting a strong negative affect increased, but this seemed to be affected by remarriage. Those who were not remarried seemed directly antagonistic toward their ex-spouse either because of what he had done or because they perceived their situation as worsening. Those who were remarried seemed not so antagonistic but negative in the sense that their ex-husband suffered by comparison with the new husband (pp. 292-306).

An important work in the investigation of post-separation behavior is Weiss's study based on his association with Parents Without Partners and information gleaned from discussions with participants in Seminars for the Separated established by Weiss and his colleagues. Definitely qualitative in nature the study is based on personal reports of both pre- and post-separation experiences.

Weiss (1975, pp. 103-112, 197-198) discusses both earlier and later phases of the post-separation behavior of spouses toward each other. At both times a wide variety of behaviors is reported. These range from continued sexual activity to aggressive hostility, as well as combined behaviors indicating a marked ambivalence toward both the other spouse and the separation. In the later phase of separation, current experiences and new associations tend to cause old events to subside and lose significance. However, this long term relationship may also reflect a change from divisiveness

to cooperation or from amicability to hostility. If divisive issues are settled the former is likely to occur, but if disagreements over support or visitation continue unresolved relationships may worsen over time.

The four issues that are most likely to engender conflict are property division, support, custody and visitation. With the exception of visiting, conflict is almost inevitable since what one party gets the other does without. Even in vistation the plans made by one party may be at odds with the convenience of the other.

In discussing the continued relationship with the children Weiss has formulated a useful set of expected paternal roles. He refers to such traditional roles as family head, protector and provider. The first implies such duties as inculcating values, giving advice and maintaining discipline. The father is also, at least symbolically, the guarantor of the family's physical safety. Lastly, he provides for the basic necessities. Because of his absence from the daily routine his ability to provide advice, to discipline and to convey by precept and example is limited. He is also unable to protect his children from predatory adults, bad companions or their own poor judgment and inexperience. While he can continue support he becomes an income source with no control over expenditures. His contribution may be viewed by the spouse as payment for services rendered rather than a continued responsibility for the well-being of the household (pp. 179-180, 188-190).

Men refer to the unnaturalness of the relationship with their children after separation, the energy required to maintain the

relationship and their concerns over failing to meet their obligations. In the early weeks of separation a sustained effort at frequent visiting may be attempted which later proves impossible to maintain. At the other extreme, at least the idea of ending contact is likely to occur. The children's ages will be a significant factor in determining length and frequency of visits. Pre-school children require supervision if lengthy visits are planned and adolescents have commitments of their own which may place limitations on both the frequency and the nature of the visits. Distance may also become a significant factor if either partner moves to another region of the country. Weiss feels that income level will enter as a significant determinant in these cases with lower income fathers unable to see their children at all and middle and upper income fathers resorting to occasional yearly visits when the children are small and visits being arranged for part or all of vacations when they are older (pp. 191-198).

Custody is traditionally granted to the ex-wife and the granting of custody to the father contrary to wishes of the ex-wife is not likely to be supported by the courts. In the past the customary reason for the father requesting custody has been allegations of infidelity on the part of the ex-wife which she chooses not to contest. Weiss feels that this is giving way to voluntary surrenders of custody on the part of ex-wives which she agrees to for her own reasons (pp. 108-109, 169-171).

Heatherington et al. (1976) have presented some of their preliminary findings of a longitudinal study of the impact of divorce

on the functioning of 96 families. Part of their goal was to study the re-organization of the family in the two-year period following divorce. A comparison was made of divorced and intact families matched for social class, age, education and length of marriage of the parents;and age, sex and birth order of the children. All respondents were white and middle class. Investigative measures included laboratory observations, interviews and structured diaries applied at two months, one year and two years after divorce.

Conflict was a significant characteristic of the exchanges between ex-spouses with couples reporting that 66% of exchanges involved conflict. The most common causes of conflict were finances and support, child rearing and intimate relations with others. Marked ambivalence, continued dependency and continuing sexual relations were also noted. Conflict and attachment both abate with time with new intimate relationships (including remarriage) being the most salient factor.

Contacts between divorced father and child decreased steadily over time. At two months, divorced fathers were having about as much face-to-face interaction as were fathers in intact homes. One-quarter of the divorced fathers were having more face-to-face interaction than they had before the divorce. By the end of the two-year period, 19 fathers were seeing their children one or more times a week, 14 every two weeks, 7 every three weeks, and 8 once a month or less. The nature of the relationship also changed with divorced fathers demanding more mature behavior, communicating

better and being more consistent by the end of the research period. They also became less nurturant and more detached. The divorced fathers were extremely permissive and indulgent at first but became increasingly restrictive over the two-year period. They were never as restrictive as fathers in intact homes, however. Eight fathers coped with the stress of separation from their children by reducing contacts and ten reported improved relationships and more enjoyment in their interchanges with their children.

Minor Studies

The remaining studies deal with post-divorce norms, conflicts in continuing relationships and satisfaction with post-divorce fathering, visiting arrangements and frequency and father custody.

Goetting (1979) questions whether or not the 20 years that have elapsed since the Goode study have not served to introduce at least some degree of normative order into post-divorce relationships. To test out this hypothesis she designed a questionnaire to tap degrees of consensus regarding the appropriateness of behavior in specific situations involving both the continuing relationship between ex-spouses and shared responsibilities for child care and nurturance. Overall, she found more consensus than expected in that there was agreement on 69% of the items in the questionnaire. In terms of the continuing relationship between ex-spouses, consensus was lacking on the appropriate amount of social distance to be maintained; however, men showed less concern over this issue than did women.

In the area of child support there was a lack of consensus over how much the ex-wife should ask for extra financial assistance and how the father should respond to such requests. There was also disagreement over how much each parent should attempt to influence the other in matters of child management.

Goldsmith (1979) examined the continuing relationship between ex-spouses by interviewing both men and women who had been divorced for approximately one year. In all cases the mother had legal custody and lived within two and one-half hours of the ex-spouse by ground travel. More conflict was found over issues relating to co-parenting than over issues concerning their relationship as ex-spouses. A majority of 84% reported continued telephone or personal contacts regarding child rearing issues. The most frequent contacts concerned medical and school problems with everyday decisions being the least likely to be shared. About three-fourths characterized these contacts as stressful, conflictual or involving basic differences in child rearing. Men expressed the greatest dissatisfaction with these co-parental contacts with 51% reporting dissatisfaction compared to 19% of the women. Both parents expressed dissatisfaction with visiting as a means of maintaining a satisfactory relationship between father and child.

Wide variations were reported in the feelings of each ex-spouse toward the other with neither positive or negative expressions predominating. However, 59% report their feelings changing over time with such reasons given as time, adjustment to a new life,

remarriage of either and personal growth and maturity. Interaction with the ex-spouse itself was also given as a cause of changed feelings. Interactions other than those involving co-parenting were restricted to friendly or "kin" contacts such as talking about family members other than the children.

Several other studies explore the themes of continued relationships marked by conflict and dissatisfaction with one aspect of the relationship or another. Newsome (1979) examined the expressed dissatisfactions of both ex-partners. Fifty-six men and 84 women were interviewed with only a few of them being ex-partners of the same marriage. The length of time of the divorce was not specified. As in the Goldsmith study, all lived near their ex-spouses. The major dependent variable was dissatisfaction with the divorce,but relationships with the children were one factor examined in terms of the man's dissatisfaction. Concerning everyday involvement with his children, 53% of the men expressed some degree of dissatisfaction and 40% expressed dissatisfaction with the amount of influence they felt they had over their child. The general theme expressed by the fathers was one of being an intruder in the lives of their children rather than a father. In another measure of dissatisfaction it was determined that those men who expressed a strong sense of emotional closeness to their children expressed a higher degree of satisfaction with the divorce and that this is the single most important determinant of satisfaction with the divorce.

Dissatisfaction with fathering after divorce was also noted by Grief (1977) who measured perceptions of role change among a

small group of divorced men. Overall, lack of contact with their children produced dissatisfaction, personal devaluation and a sense of role loss for fathers.

Older fathers and fathers in lower social class groups spent less time with their children and were less satisfied with the degree of influence they had on their children.

Both the Goldsmith and Newsome studies involved persons who had been divorced a relatively short length of time. In a recent study of 500 ever-divorced men and women Albrecht (1980) examined the continuing contact between ex-spouses who appear to have been divorced longer. The mean age at divorce was 30.9 years and the mean age at the time of interview was 45.1 years. The time elapsed indicates that the mean length of divorce for the sample was 14.2 years. Only 11% of the sample reported continuing contact between ex-spouses once the divorce was obtained. More than 70% reported little or no contact. Unfortunately, the published report does not indicate how these contacts may have changed over time, but it is assumed that the author is referring to contacts at the time of the study and not at the time of the divorce.

Finally, a study by Cline and Westerman (1971) affirms the possibility of conflict after divorce. In an examination of 102 families who appeared in a family court over a two-year period they found that 52% had hostile interactions requiring intervention. The two biggest areas of conflict were money and the children.

Two additional studies deal with the ways in which personal contacts between father and child are arranged. Newsome (1977)

examined the hypotheses that the father's access to his children will be controlled by the ex-wife and that the greater his contribution to the first family the more access he will be allowed. He also predicted that the sentiments of the ex-wife concerning both the divorce and paternal rights will act as intervening variables affecting access. Generally, he found these two hypotheses supported; however, the role played by the ex-wife's sentiments was not always clear.

Alexander (1980) reported on an investigation of the factors which influence divorced parents in determining visiting arrangements. She questioned whether visiting arrangements were decided in the best interests of the child, the custodial parent, the visiting parent or the continuing parental relationship. She determined that the best interests of the child and the visiting parent were given the highest consideration, in that order. These within group differences were statistically significant. The interests of the custodial parent and the continuing parental relationship were given third and fourth consideration but these within group differences were not statistically significant. She also found that hostility between the two parents was not a significant factor in determining the child's best interests.

Two other items of information on visiting emerged from the Alexander study. The first is that visiting frequency was not affected by the remarriage of the ex-spouse. Only one respondent reported a decrease in visiting frequency for this reason. The

second refers to the use of third parties in making visiting arrangements. She cites a study indicating that only 14% of parents saw lawyers as influential in determining visiting arrangements.

These studies all imply that a wide variety of factors may have an impact on the satisfactions received from visiting in addition to visiting frequency. It must be noted, however, that visiting may not occur at all. Anspach (1976) studied kinship relations after divorce and, while his study did not deal directly with the father-child relationship, slightly over half of the women studied reported that the fathers of their children did not visit.

The limited amount of data on father custody deals mostly with the legal aspects of custody or consists of case studies reporting the problems men have with single parenting. Only one study could be found that discusses some of the social characteristics of men who receive custody as well as some of the structural arrangements that inhibit father custody. Gersick (1979) interviewed 40 men who had been divorced between nine and twelve months. Half of the group had had custody and the other half did not. He reports a tendency for men in the higher social class categories to have custody compared to those in the lower classes. He also found that those who had custody tended to be older and more established than those who did not have custody. His study bears out the supposition of Weiss concerning the changing reasons for women relinquishing custody. In 18 of the 20 cases of father custody the ex-wife consented to

the arrangement prior to the divorce hearing. In over half of these it was the choice of the wife, or of the child or the result of common consent.

Gersick found that the attitudes of the attorneys were generally not supportive of father custody and the sample as a whole expressed dissatisfaction with their attorneys. The author suggests a social class effect in the attorney-client relationship since the professional and middle class men seemed to be able to use their attorneys while the working class men felt that their attorneys used them.

Summary

The continuing relationship between ex-spouses and between father and child are the two common interests upon which this literature review is based. Consistently, the relationship between ex-spouses is seen as ambivalent, shifting and ultimately lessening in most cases. Changes include moving toward better relationships, an increase in indifference or worsening relationships. Remarriage seems to be the most salient factor in reducing the intensity of the relationship but there are indications that time and maturity are also important.

Visiting between father and child seems to be characterized largely by dissatisfaction for both parents. Goode's original expectation that visits will decrease over time is supported by both Weiss and Heatherington et al. Goode's findings on visiting and Alexander's can be seen as conflicting. Goode reports that

attitudes of the ex-wife toward visiting by the father can be negatively affected by a variety of conditions including both his behavior and her attitudes toward him. Alexander reports that both parties attempt to conduct visiting in a way which makes the interests of the child the paramount consideration.

Three other characteristics of the post-divorce relationship are noted. One is that conflict is common, especially over matters of child support and the father-child relationship. Secondly, support payments are most affected by the father's continued employment and his relationship with his ex-wife. Third, divorce makes significant inroads into the father's satisfaction with his fulfillment of the paternal role.

In terms of social structure, Goetting suggests that more norms exist to guide post-divorce relationships than were previously thought to exist while Weiss and Gersick note the presence of strong structural constraints acting to prohibit father custody.

CHAPTER IV

THE RESEARCH METHOD

The procedures for collecting and analyzing the data needed to test the hypotheses include the selection of a sample, the development and administration of a questionnaire, the formulation of operational definitions and the selection of the appropriate statistical tools.

The best way to assure that all the desired variables would occur in the sample would be to locate a universe consisting of remarried men who had minor children by their first marriage and minor stepchildren living in their home. The possibility of identifying such a group seemed limited but contacts were made with two county school districts (Orange and Volusia Counties) and one of the large inner-city churches in Orlando. All three groups were afraid of diverse reactions from their constituents if they assisted in identifying members for research purposes and the school authorities also cited federal regulations concerning the confidentiality of school records.

Parents Without Partners seemed a likely source even though members leave the organization after remarriage. However, organizations manned entirely by volunteers often keep minimal records and the local chapter could not locate their record of former members.

Social service agencies comprise another community institution that has contact with divorced men; however, the problem of confidentiality again arises. A contact was made with the Epi-Center, a social service agency in Orlando offering marital separation seminars to men and women in the greater Orlando area. Dr. Larry Webb, Executive Director of the Center, agreed to send a letter to former seminar participants explaining the research project and asking them to return an enclosed post card if they wished to participate in the study. Twenty-one names were drawn from the Epi-Center files. They were selected on the basis of an address in Orange or Seminole County, only one previous marriage and the probability of having had children by that marriage. (The records of the Center were not always complete.) Since participants in the seminars are at various stages in the separation-divorce process it was possible that some of those selected would have reunited and it was unknown as to whether or not they would have remarried. To increase the possibility of the latter event no participants were selected who had entered the seminars after March 1978. Twenty-one letters were sent out. Seven were returned by the post office as undeliverable. Nine persons did not respond and five returned cards indicating an interest. Of these five, one did not have children and one could not arrange a convenient time for an interview. Three interviews were completed and these three constitute the first subsample (Epi-Center).

By now it was obvious that the desired universe could not be identified. Therefore, the definition was revised to include men,

remarried or not, who had had children by a former marriage which had ended in divorce. There were three types of county records which were considered as possible sources and contacts were made in Orange, Seminole and Volusia Counties to investigate the usefulness of these records. The use of the first type, divorce records, was quickly abandoned when investigation indicated that two sets of records would have to be researched and then the male's address would be more often absent than not. Also, divorce records would not indicate a remarriage. Access to the second type, support payment records, was refused in two counties and this avenue was not pursued with the third county since this source would eliminate the voluntary support arrangements which divorced couples might employ and thus knowingly bias the sample.

The third type of county record which could be employed would be the county marriage license applications. These records indicate the number of previous marriages, age of the applicants and the address at the time of application. They do not indicate if there were children by the previous marriage nor would the applications indicate if the marriage actually took place. In addition, there was always the possibility that the second marriage was no longer intact. It was felt, however, that the use of the marriage license applications would be the best source for assuring that at least some of the sample would have an intact remarriage. The final decision was to identify male applicants with one previous marriage, between the ages of 25 and 45, who had filed for a marriage license

no less than one year before it was anticipated that interviews would begin. One previous marriage was chosen as a limit to avoid confusing the interview schedule with too many possible sets of children with differing custodial parents. The age limit was selected to increase the possibility of respondents having children who were still minors. The one year following remarriage was selected to give time for visiting arrangements which might have been affected by the remarriage to settle into an established pattern. Accordingly records were examined between the dates of November 1977 and June 1978. This meant that some of the applications were filed as long as 20 months before letters were sent to potential respondents, a factor which no doubt accounts for the great attrition which took place.

Using the formula indicated above, 599 names were selected from the records of Orange and Seminole Counties. Of these, only 187 (31.2%) could be tentatively identified and located by using phone books and local directories. Letters on University of Central Florida stationery and signed by the Director of Graduate Studies and Research were sent out in June 1979, inviting the receivers to participate in the study (see Appendix A). Of the first wave of letters sent (122) only 23 were returned undeliverable. Of the 99 remaining, 24 could not be located by phone. Since these 24 letters had obviously been forwarded the letter was modified in subsequent mailings to encourage receivers who had moved to contact the researcher if they wished to participate in the study (see Appendix

B). Sixty-five more letters were sent using the revised letter but only one person responded to this suggestion.

Following is the breakdown of responses to the 187 letters which were sent out in four different mailings over a four-week period.

Breakdown of Responses

Letter returned as undeliverable	23
Letter forwarded, but could not locate	38
No answer to repeated phone calls	15
Mistaken identity	12
Refusal to participate	25
No children by first marriage	26
Remarried first wife	4
Agreed to participate, but appointment not arranged or kept	7
Total failures to interview	148

Thirty-nine interviews were completed and one was eliminated since answers were inconsistent and the interviewer reported that the respondent seemed to be under the influence of drugs. The second sub-sample thus consists of 38 cases (County Records).

Reliance on a snow ball sample had been rejected in the planning phase of the study since the researcher found it difficult to identify potential participants who fit all the criteria, particularly remarriage. The few that were found were used to pretest the interview schedule and some of these are included in the final sample when appropriate. However, as the interviews proceeded, more and more potential respondents came to the attention of the researcher with many being identified by the research assistants.

In these cases, respondents were assigned to another interviewer to avoid any element of personal bias. Twenty snow ball respondents are included in the analysis and these comprise the third sub-sample (Snow Ball).

When it became apparent that the sample from the marriage application files would fall far short of the goal of 100 cases it was decided to try to obtain media attention regarding the research and invite men to participate in the study. Some time in early August 1979 the Orlando Sentinel Star published a feature section entitled "The Male in Society" which included a short article on this research project and invited participation from divorced males with first families. The name of the researcher was included with his office phone number. Over the next several weeks, 48 phone calls were received and 40 interviews were completed. Of the eight not interviewed, two were in the first divorce process, three lived too far away, two could not arrange a convenient time for an interview and one had no children.

The initial calls from this sample were screened by a secretary who checked for address, phone, marital status and children by the first marriage. Comments recorded by the secretary indicated that this sample would probably be biased since many of the respondents obviously had an "axe to grind" and were calling to report unpleasant experiences of one kind or another. It is anticipated that this potential bias will add an extra dimension to the research since this sub-sample can be compared with the others for differences

in significant family experiences. The fourth sub-sample thus contains 40 cases (Newspaper).

In summary then, the total sample contains 101 cases of men who had children by a previous marriage. This sample is composed of four sub-samples identified as the Epi-Center sub-sample (3), the county records sub-sample (38), the snow ball sub-sample (20) and the newspaper sub-sample (40).

The Questionnaire

A trial questionnaire was developed and pre-tested on ten subjects. From this experience a final questionnaire was printed and then administered by the researcher and nine undergraduate sociology and psychology majors at the University of Central Florida in Orlando. A structured questionnaire was used with some open-ended questions (see Appendix C). All of the interviewers had some experience in interviewing and were recommended by their faculty advisors. An additional four hours of instruction were provided by the researcher along with on-going supervision throughout the data collection process. The data were collected between June 1, and August 31, 1979.

Operational Definitions

In order to test the hypotheses each of the dependent and independent variables must be operationally defined. To do this each variable necessary to the testing of the hypotheses will be identified and the indicator used to measure it specified.

In the first hypothesis the resources allocated to the children of the first marriage constitute the dependent variable. These resources will be specified as the frequency of visits, mail and phone contacts and voluntary contributions of support upon the request of either the child or the ex-wife. The independent variable is the increasing number of role obligations which are measured according to three marital statuses. These are separation and divorce, which give a measure of minimal role obligation, and the remarriage of either ex-spouse as a measure of role increase.

In the second hypothesis the dependent variable is the use of a third party to negotiate post-divorce roles. The two roles to be negotiated are visiting and child support. Indicators of third party involvement will be a court order issued without the knowledge of, or against the wishes of, either ex-spouse; or the reliance upon an attorney or other third party to negotiate visiting or support. Mutual agreement prior to the divorce proceedings, with or without a court order, will be considered evidence of the absence of third party involvement. The independent variable is the ex-wife's perceptions of unsatisfactory paternal role performance. This will be measured by the extent to which paternal role performance was a causal factor in the divorce.

In the third hypothesis the dependent variable is the rejection of traditional custody and living arrangements. Rejection of traditional arrangements will be indicated by the father having custody of one or more of his children or having one or more of

his children maintain their residence with him anytime after the divorce. The independent variable is social class which will be measured by Hollingshead's Two Factor Index. This index is based on education and occupation and had been in use since 1957. It has a reliability of .906. There are five classes which are identified by number and defined by occupational position rather than by name (Hollingshead & Redlich, 1958). For this study Class I will be defined as upper class, Classes II and III combined as middle class and Classes IV and V combined as lower class (Kessler & Cleary, 1980, p. 468).

Other independent variables will be examined for the possible effects they may have on the dependent variables. These include the attitudes of the ex-wife toward the father and toward his continued contact with the children, the attitude of the father's present wife, geographic distance, religion and sub-sample differences. Comparisons of religion will be limited to differences between Catholics and Protestants.

Data Analysis

The data were analyzed by using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (Nie, Hull, Jenkins, Steinbrenner & Bent, 1975). Since the data were predominantly nominal, statistical analysis was confined to the Chi-square test of independence and either the Phi coefficient or Cramer's V depending on table size. Tables were frequently reduced by combining frequencies to either simplify analysis or to compensate for too many small or missing

cells. When cells less than five occur, SPSS automatically applies the Yates correction for Chi-square (243). In the analysis the corrected Chi-square will be used unless otherwise indicated. The level of significance to be obtained in order for hypotheses to be accepted is .05.

Since the sample is obviously of a convenience nature generalizations cannot be made to the population of divorced fathers at large. The use of tests of significance and measures of association is not intended to estimate population parameters but rather to test hypotheses and establish the location of individuals in relationships to others (Farber, 1957; Coleman, 1961; Zelditch, 1961; Lee, 1977).

CHAPTER V

DESCRIPTION OF THE SAMPLE

This descriptive report of the questionnaire findings will begin with a breakdown of the social and demographic characteristics of the sample. This will be followed by frequency distributions of the dependent and independent variables which will be used in the next chapter to test the three hypotheses for acceptance or rejection.

Since the sample consists of 101 respondents the absolute numbers and the percentages are about equal. In such cases, when the difference between the two figures is less than two, either the absolute number or the percentage will be given, not both. In all other instances the percentage will be given followed by the absolute number in parentheses.

Characteristics of the Sample

The men in the sample ranged in age from 23 to 59 years (mean = 37.4, median = 36.9). Ninety-six were Caucasian, four were black and one was Spanish-American. Sixty were Protestant, 24 were Catholic and two were Jewish. Thirteen were either nonaffiliated or of some other religious group and two did not respond. According to Hollingshead's Two Factor Index of Social Class, nine respondents fell into Class I, 31 were Class II, 48 were Class III, ten were Class IV and one was Class V. Two did not respond. There was

no statistically significant relationship between religion and social class. Protestants predominated at all class levels except in Class V which contained only one case. Only two men had less than a high school education, 20 were high school graduates, 41 had some college, 21 were college graduates and 14 had a graduate degree. Three did not respond. Given the time of the last census and the rapid growth and change in the Central Florida area, the population estimates would be so unreliable as to make a comparison on these demographic variables meaningless. However, it seems probable that the sample is more likely to be better educated, Protestant and Caucasian than the general population in Central Florida.

The length of the respondent's first marriages ranged from nine months to 23 years (mean = 10.5 and median = 9.8). The length of time between the divorce and the interview ranged from two months to 15.8 years (mean = 4.8 and median = 3.9).

Sevety-six of the men had remarried and 86.8% (66) of these second marriages were still intact. Of the remainder, two were separated and 10.5% (8) had divorced their second wives. Twenty-five had not remarried.

Of the ex-wives of the first marriage, 49 had remarried and 50 had not. Only two men did not know anything about the marital status of their first wives. Of the 49 who had remarried, 35 were still remarried, ten divorced and in the other four cases the men were not sure.

Twenty-four of the respondents had one or more stepchildren living with them. (This includes one man who had his stepchildren in his care although their mother had left the family.) Fourteen men had children born to their second marriage. Half of these were under one year of age and the oldest was 14 years of age.

Twenty-one men had one or more of their own children living with them and of these, 19 had custody of one or more of their children.

In terms of the geographic distance separating the fathers from their children, 51.7% (46) lived 50 miles or less from their children, 6.7% between 51 and 150 miles, 5.6% between 151 and 300 miles and 36.0% (32) lived more than 300 miles away. (See Appendix D.)

Personal Contacts

Visiting arrangements were reached by mutual consent in 62.8% (59) of the cases. The use of a third party to negotiate visiting arrangements occurred in 37.2% (35) of the cases.

No change in the original agreement was reported by 68.1% (64) of the men. Changes by mutual agreement were reported by 11.7% and 9.6% reported that the request for change came at the instigation of one party with the other party opposing it. Other reasons for changes were reported by 10.6% (6) of the respondents without the specific reasons being given.

Visiting is an extremely difficult behavior to define operationally since visits can vary both in length and frequency with little relative change in the actual amount of time spent with the

child. For example, if a father has been seeing his children one weekend a month for approximately 48 hours each visit and he changes to one month-long visit per year he has decreased the frequency of his visits from 12 per year to one per year. However, the actual amount of time spent with his children has increased from 576 hours (12 months x 48 hours) to 720 hours (30 days x 24 hours). Ignoring the meaning of this for either father or child, it is difficult to judge whether this should be seen as an increase or a decrease in the amount of time allocated to the children of his first family. In an attempt to cope with this problem respondents were asked to state not only how often they visited their child but how long visits lasted. The frequency of visits was scaled as follows: daily, weekly, bi-weekly, monthly, quarterly, holidays and birthdays, yearly, less than yearly and never. Length of visits was scaled at two hours or less, half-day, all day, overnight or weekend and a week or more. Respondents were asked to indicate the visiting pattern at differing marital statuses. These were during separation, after the divorce and after the remarriage of either, which indicates a sequential series of events.

Appendix E indicates both the length and frequency of visits for each marital status with both row and column totals. In order to simplify the presentation both the frequencies and the lengths of visits were dichotomized and are presented in Table 1. This table includes multiple responses. That is, if the father had his children visit once a month for the weekend and also had them visit

TABLE 1

LENGTH AND FREQUENCY OF VISITING BY MARITAL STATUS

	Marital Status							
	Separated		Divorced		Father Remarried		Ex-wife Remarried	
Length of Visits	%	N*	%	N	%	N	%	N
Short Visits (One day or less)	(55.2)	48	(41.2)	40	(33.9)	20	(21.9)	7
Long Visits (Overnight or more)	(44.8)	39	(58.8)	57	(66.1)	39	(78.1)	25
TOTALS	(100.0)	87	(100.0)	97	(100.0)	59	(100.0)	32
Frequency of Visits								
Less Frequent (Once per month or less)	(23.0)	20	(35.1)	34	(52.5)	31	(56.3)	18
More Frequent (More than once per month)	(77.0)	67	(64.9)	63	(47.5)	28	(43.7)	14
TOTALS	(100.0)	87	(100.0)	97	(100.0)	59	(100.0)	32

*Number of Fathers

for a week or more once a year, both visiting arrangements were recorded. Visiting lengths were divided into short visits of a day or less and longer visits (overnight or more). Frequency of visits was also divided into less frequent (once per month or less) and more frequent (more than once per month).

As can be seen the longer visits are increasingly utilized as the marital statuses proceed through separation, divorce and the remarriage of either ex-spouse. The longer visit is utilized more, however, after the remarriage of the ex-wife than it is after the remarriage of the father. As the visits increase in length they decrease in frequency. Visiting more than once a month is most common during the separation period (77.0%) but decreases to 64.9% after divorce and drops to 47.5% and 43.7% respectively with the father's remarriage and the remarriage of the ex-spouse.

Longer visits make up 44.8% of all visits during separation, but increase to 58.5% after divorce and to 66.1% with the father's remarriage and 78.1% with the remarriage of the ex-wife.

A closer examination of the appendix shows that the quarterly and the yearly visits are the frequencies showing the greatest increase with the remarriage of either spouse; the weekly visit showing the greatest decrease. During separation, 14.1% report that they never visit. The frequency drops slightly to 12.6% after divorce and then rises to 22.6% and 30.5% respectively with the remarriage of the father and the ex-wife (not shown).

Mail and phone contacts were both examined for frequency and have also been dichotomized for ease of examination (see Table 2).

TABLE 2

FREQUENCY OF MAIL AND PHONE CONTACTS BY MARITAL STATUS

	Marital Status							
	Separated		Divorced		Father Remarried		Ex-wife Remarried	
Frequency of Mail Contacts	%	N*	%	N	%	N	%	N
Less Frequent (Once per month or less)	(78.6)	22	(86.1)	31	(82.1)	23	(81.8)	9
More Frequent (More than once per month)	(21.4)	6	(13.9)	5	(17.9)	5	(18.2)	2
TOTALS	(100.0)	28	(100.0)	36	(100.0)	28	(100.0)	11
Frequency of Phone Contacts								
Less Frequent (Once per month or less)	(16.9)	10	(31.7)	20	(42.2)	19	(30.4)	7
More Frequent (More than once per month)	(83.1)	49	(68.3)	43	(57.8)	26	(69.6)	16
TOTALS	(100.0)	59	(100.0)	63	(100.0)	45	(100.0)	23

*Number of Fathers

Mail is obviously not a heavily utilized method for keeping in touch. At most, only 36 men report using the mail and this was during the period of divorce. Phone calls of more than once per month are relied upon heavily during the separation period (83.1%) and continue to be a major source of contact during the subsequent marital statuses (after divorce, 68.3%; after the father's remarriage, 57.8%; and after the ex-wife's remarriage, 69.6%).

The men who never use mail or phone contacts remains fairly stable at all statuses. The never mail group remains between 50% and 65% and the never phone group between 20.7% and 28.9% (not shown).

The general trend has been for visits to increase in both frequency and length after the divorce when compared to the separation period.

Following the remarriage of either ex-spouse, visits tend to increase in length but decrease in frequency although this is more marked for the remarriage of the ex-wife. In a separate analysis of frequency only (which will be used later in Chapter VI) the same pattern appears in that the number of men reporting more frequent visits decreases and the number of men reporting less frequent visits increases with changes in marital status. None of this indicates whether the actual amount of time the father spends with his children is increasing, decreasing or remaining the same. The maximum visiting length specified in the questionnaire was "a week or more." This could include anything from a week to the entire

summer. This visiting length increased from 8.7% during separation to 25.4% after the remarriage of the ex-wife. Therefore, it is possible in some cases that with the remarriage of either ex-spouse more time is spent with the children in terms of clock hours than was spent with them during the separation or divorce periods.

The underlying logic for using frequency of visits as an indicator of role involvement is strengthened by examining the number of men who reported never visiting their children. The pattern is the same although the progression is reversed. The number who never visit drops slightly after divorce and then increases with the remarriage of each ex-spouse.

While it seems clear that changing marital statuses results in fewer direct contacts between father and child, the relative stability of mail and phone contacts at each marital status indicates that a reduction in personal contacts does not imply a reduction in interest.

Child Support

Most of the respondents indicated that they were involved in making support payments. Arrangements for child support were derived by mutual consent in only 20.9% (18) of the cases. The use of a third party to negotiate child support payments occurred in 79.1% (68) of the cases. In the majority of the cases third party intervention was in the form of a court order contrary to the wishes of one party or the other. Of these, 56 were against the wishes of the man and three were against the wishes of the ex-wife.

Changes in the amount of support after the original order or agreement occurred in 39.5% (34) of the cases. Eleven of these were by mutual agreement leaving the court order unchanged. Three were by court order at the man's request and seven were by court order at the request of the ex-wife. (Thirteen failed to report the process.) Twelve different reasons for a change in support were given. The ex-wife requested more money in six of the cases and the man requested a reduction due to income loss in four of the cases. Other reasons included the remarriage of the ex-wife, change in custody, child becoming of age and the ex-wife running away.

Fathers were also asked how many times a year they sent money or gifts to their children on a voluntary basis. Of the 84 men responding to this question 16.7% (14) indicated that they never did and 42.9% (36) stated that they limited voluntary contributions to birthdays and holidays. Those who were more involved included 17.9% (15) who sent money or gifts five or less times in addition to holidays and birthdays.

Insurance policies and savings plans were used as an indicator of financial support for children. Thirty-two men said they kept up life insurance policies on their children. Fifty-two had made their children beneficiaries to their life policies, 62 covered their children with some kind of health policy and 11 had some other kind of insurance. Savings plans for their children were maintained by 33 of their fathers. (These data are from the total sample and include fathers who had custody. In addition, some men are reported more than once.)

Respondents who were making payments were asked if they had ever stopped for three months or more or if they had ever missed or been late with payments for a period of time up to three months. Twenty-three (26.7%) indicated that they had stopped payments or both stopped and missed payments one or more times. The most frequently given reason was a shortage of funds. This was mentioned ten times. Unemployment and illness or injury accounted for six occasions of stopped or missed payments. Two times were due to the ex-wife denying visitation, two for retaliation for other felt grievances and one because the man stated his ex-wife owed him money.

Asked if the stopped, missed or late payments had ever been made up, 55.6% (15) indicated yes and 44.4% (12) said no.

Respondents were asked to indicate if they had ever been asked to send extra funds (beyond the support agreement) for their child at either the request of the child or the request of the ex-wife. The same question was asked for each of the four marital statuses previously described. The choices were that they always sent extra funds, they sometimes refused, they sometimes could not or they never sent extra funds. There was a large number of nonresponses to this inquiry and it is not certain if this was due to the fact that requests for extra funds were never made or due to confusion over the wording of the question.

Since the first three categories indicate that the father was at least disposed to send money some of the time these were collapsed into one "favorable" response. The "never" response is categorized as "unfavorable."

By looking at Table 3, it can be seen that a request from the child receives an increased favorable response after the divorce when compared with the separation period (from 13.6% to 22.7%). When the request comes from the ex-wife the favorable response drops slightly from 35.6% to 32.5% for the same change in status.

With the remarriage of the divorced father the favorable responses rise to 27.9% at the child's request and to 48.3% at the ex-wife's request.

After the remarriage of the ex-wife the favorable responses drop sharply to 20.0% at the child's request and 25.0% at the ex-wife's request.

Over half the cases (68.5%) reported that child support was imposed by the court contrary to the wishes of one party or the other but usually contrary to the wishes of the father. Later changes in the original support arrangement occurred in 39.5% of the cases with most of them being by mutual agreement leaving the court order unchanged. (Note, however, that there was a large number of nonresponses concerning the change process.)

Of the 84 fathers who reported voluntarily sending money beyond child support requirements, 59.6% said they did not do so or only sent money or gifts for birthdays and holidays. The other 40.5% sent money or gifts at least a few times per year in addition to birthdays and holidays.

TABLE 3

RESPONSE OF DIVORCED FATHER TO CHILD'S AND EX-WIFE'S REQUEST FOR EXTRA MONEY MARITAL STATUS

	Marital Status							
	Separated		Divorced		Father Remarried		Ex-wife Remarried	
Response to Request From Child	%	N*	%	N	%	N	%	N
Favorable	(13.6)	8	(22.7)	15	(27.9)	12	(20.0)	5
Unfavorable	(86.4)	51	(77.3)	51	(72.1)	31	(80.0)	20
TOTALS	(100.0)	59	(100.0)	66	(100.0)	43	(100.0)	25
Response to Request From Ex-wife								
Favorable	(35.6)	26	(32.5)	25	(48.3)	18	(25.0)	7
Unfavorable	(64.4)	47	(67.5)	52	(61.7)	29	(75.0)	21
TOTALS	(100.0)	73	(100.0)	77	(100.0)	47	(100.0)	28

*Number of Fathers

While the data on insurance coverage are overlapping, at least 62% of fathers carry some kind of insurance on their children with the most common form being health insurance.

A large group of respondents (73.3%) report never missing or being late with their payments. Of those who stopped or missed payments, 55.6% said they made up the payments at a later date.

Favorable responses to requests for extra funds from either the child or the ex-wife vary sharply according to the marital status of both the father and the ex-wife. The most prominent finding is that favorable responses to a request from either child or ex-wife increased after the father remarried and decreased after the remarriage of the ex-wife.

Relationships Between Divorced Fathers and Their Ex-Wives

The men were asked to respond to a six-point scale indicating their relationship with their ex-wife both at the time of the divorce and at the time of the interview. The six choices on the scale were "antagonistic," "unfriendly," "neutral," "some friendly," "good friends," and "other."

As Table 4 indicates the number of men reporting antagonistic or unfriendly relationships had dropped by the time of the interview. Those reporting unfriendly relationships dropped almost two-thirds between the time of the divorce and the time of the interview. The group reporting neutral relationships increased--again by about two-thirds. The group reporting generally positive relationships showed an increase.

TABLE 4

DIVORCED FATHER'S RELATIONSHIP WITH EX-WIFE AT TIME OF DIVORCE AND AT TIME OF INTERVIEW

	Time of Relationship	
	At Divorce	At Interview
Relationship	N*	N
Antagonistic	33	21
Unfriendly	26	9
Neutral	11	30
Some Friendly	18	22
Good Friends	6	11
Other	6	5
TOTALS	100	98

*Number of Fathers

Generally, then, there was a reduction of hostilities with a marked increase in neutral feelings and some increase in friendly feelings.

Respondents were also asked if they perceived their ex-wife as opposing or supporting their relationship with their children at both the time of the divorce and at the time of the interview. Very few were neutral on this issue, and support and opposition were about equal (see Table 5).

The apparent stability of this relationship disappears, however, when the reasons given for change are examined on a case by case basis. Thirty-eight men reported changes over the time period examined. These changes were in both directions with some reporting their ex-wives withdrawing support and some reporting an increase in support. The father's own maturity and the influence of his children were the two most frequently mentioned reasons for change, but only four men indicated these reasons. All other reasons were individual. Some examples were the ex-wife afraid of his influence on the children, father taking custody, engaging in power plays and the removal of a restraining order.

In an attempt to determine something of the nature and extent of post-divorce relationships between ex-spouses, respondents were asked to indicate if they discussed certain matters with their ex-wives at these same two points in time. The questions concerned both contacts they had regarding the children and contacts they may have had which would indicate a continuing relationship between the

TABLE 5

EX-WIFE'S SUPPORT OF DIVORCED FATHER'S RELATIONSHIP WITH HIS CHILDREN

	Time of Support or Opposition	
	At Divorce	At Interview
Support or Opposition	N*	N
Strongly Opposed	32	29
Some Opposed	13	16
Neutral	9	7
Some Support	19	23
Strongly Support	27	24
TOTALS	100	99

*Number of Fathers

two adults. The possible subjects they might have discussed concerning the children included visiting, support, health problems, school or behavior problems and any good news concerning the children.

Possible subjects concerning their relationship included personal problems of either, household management, problems from the past, mutual friends or relatives and mutual financial interests other than child support.

In all of these areas respondents were asked to respond in terms of agreement, compromise, fighting, he refusing to discuss the matter, she refusing to discuss the matter, avoiding the topic or no need to discuss the topic. They were also asked to give the reasons for any changes that were reported.

In order to reduce the data to a more manageable form the nature of the discussions has been categorized as positive (usually agree and compromise), negative (fight, he or she refuses to discuss and avoid topic) and no discussion. Table 6 gives the responses to discussions involving the children and Table 7 the responses to discussion involving the two adults.

In all topic areas concerning the children, positive discussions decrease over time. Negative responses decrease only slightly for discussions concerning the children's health, school or behavior problems and good news. The absence of discussions for all topics increases only slightly except on the topic of support in which "no need to discuss" increases from 28.2% to 44.0%.

The pattern of responses to discussions concerning the ex-spouses is quite different. In all topic areas save one, both

TABLE 6

NATURE OF THE DISCUSSION BETWEEN DIVORCED FATHER AND EX-WIFE REGARDING THEIR CHILDREN AT THE TIME OF THE DIVORCE AND THE TIME OF THE INTERVIEW

	Time of Discussion At Divorce							
	Positive Discussion		Negative Discussion		No Discussion		Totals	
Subject of Discussion	%	N*	%	N	%	N	%	N
Visiting	(51.0)	48	(23.4)	22	(25.6)	24	(100.0)	94
Support	(47.9)	46	(23.9)	23	(28.2)	27	(100.0)	96
Child's Health	(64.3)	61	(7.5)	7	(28.2)	27	(100.0)	95
School or Behavior Problem	(59.3)	54	(13.2)	12	(27.5)	25	(100.0)	91
Good News	(57.4)	54	(4.2)	4	(38.4)	36	(100.0)	94

*Number of Fathers

TABLE 6 (Continued)

Subject of Discussion	Time of Discussion At Interview: Positive Discussion %	Positive Discussion N*	Negative Discussion %	Negative Discussion N	No Discussion %	No Discussion N	Totals %	Totals N
Visiting	(46.7)	43	(21.8)	20	(31.5)	29	(100.0)	92
Support	(33.0)	30	(23.0)	21	(44.0)	40	(100.0)	91
Child's Health	(56.0)	51	(11.0)	10	(33.0)	30	(100.0)	91
School or Behavior Problem	(54.6)	48	(17.0)	15	(28.4)	25	(100.0)	88
Good News	(48.3)	45	(10.0)	7	(41.7)	37	(100.0)	49

*Number of Fathers

TABLE 7

NATURE OF THE DISCUSSION BETWEEN DIVORCED FATHER AND EX-WIFE REGARDING THEMSELVES AT THE TIME OF THE DIVORCE AND THE TIME OF THE INTERVIEW

	Time of Discussion At Divorce							
	Positive Discussion		Negative Discussion		No Discussion		Totals	
Subject of Discussion	%	N*	%	N	%	N	%	N
Personal Problems	(28.1)	27	(41.8)	40	(30.1)	29	(100.0)	96
Household Management	(27.4)	26	(21.1)	20	(51.5)	49	(100.0)	95
Past Problems	(19.8)	19	(46.9)	45	(33.3)	32	(100.0)	96
Mutual Friends or Relatives	(28.5)	27	(24.3)	23	(47.2)	45	(100.0)	95
Other Financial Interests	(47.0)	24	(29.5)	15	(23.5)	12	(100.0)	51

*Number of Fathers

TABLE 7 (Continued)

Subject of Discussion	Time of Discussion At Interview: Positive Discussion %	Positive Discussion N	Negative Discussion %	Negative Discussion N	No Discussion %	No Discussion N	Totals %	Totals N
Personal Problems	(19.8)	18	(27.5)	25	(52.7)	48	(100.0)	91
Household Management	(12.3)	11	(16.9)	15	(70.8)	63	(100.0)	89
Past Problems	(5.5)	5	(25.3)	23	(69.2)	63	(100.0)	91
Mutual Friends or Relatives	(26.4)	24	(17.6)	16	(56.0)	51	(100.0)	91
Other Financial Interests	(23.2)	10	(16.3)	7	(60.5)	26	(100.0)	43

*Number of Fathers

positive and negative responses decrease between the time of the divorce and the time of the interview. Accordingly, the topics over which no discussion takes place increase, some quite substantially. The one topic in which little change occurs concerns discussions that take place about mutual friends and relatives. The response, when positive at the time of the divorce, tends to remain positive. The decrease is only from 28.5% to 26.4%.

Respondents were also asked to give their perceptions of the reasons these changes took place. This was posed as an open question in the interview schedule and the responses were later categorized by the researcher. A large number of responses was so idiosyncratic as to defy categorization; therefore, the "other" category is quite large. The remaining primary categories in which multiple responses occurred were the passage of time, severing contacts and the remarriage of either party. While the probability is high that the first two are related reasons, they did seem to emerge as distinct reasons in the minds of the respondents.

Table 8 gives the reasons for change in discussions concerning the children, and Table 9 reasons for change in discussions between the two adults.

The basic reason for change in discussions concerning the children are idiosyncratic reasons (36.4%). The next most important reason is severed contacts (31.8%). Reasons for changes in discussions between the ex-spouses concerning themselves are about evenly divided between the passage of time (27.3%), idiosyncratic reasons

TABLE 8

REASON GIVEN FOR CHANGE IN DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN EX-SPOUSES CONCERNING CHILDREN

	Men Reporting Change	
Reason for Change	Number of Responses	Percentage of Total
Time	14	8.1
Learned to Agree	7	4.0
Children Emancipated	6	3.5
Children Did Planning	7	4.0
Severed Contact	55	31.8
Remarriage of Either	12	6.9
Financial Ties Ended	0	0.0
Custody Change	9	5.2
Other	63	36.4
TOTALS	173	100.0

TABLE 9

REASON GIVEN FOR CHANGE IN DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN EX-SPOUSES CONCERNING SELVES

	Men Reporting Change	
Reason for Change	Number of Responses	Percentage of Responses
Time	53	27.3
Learned to Agree	4	2.1
Children Emancipated	0	0.0
Children Did Planning	0	0.0
Severed Contact	51	26.3
Remarriage of Either	22	11.3
Financial Ties Ended	7	3.6
Custody Change	5	2.6
Other	52	26.8
TOTALS	194	100.0

(26.8%) and severed contacts (26.3%). In both types of contacts it would appear that time, severed contacts and idiosyncratic reasons are more important reasons for change than the remarriage of either party. Remarriage accounts for less than 12% of the reasons for change in either case.

A general measure of the relationship between ex-spouses indicates a reduction of hostile feelings, an increase in neutral feelings and some increase in friendly feelings between the time of the divorce and the time of the interview.

The support the ex-wife gives to the continuing relationship between father and child shows changes in both directions with approximately one-third of the men reporting that the ex-wife moved from support to opposition or vice versa.

In a more detailed examination of continuing contacts broken down by person involved and subject matter the tendency is for contacts between ex-spouses to remain active over matters concerning the children but to eventually disappear over matters concerning the two adults. It is significant, however, that contacts concerning the children which involve socially structured behaviors (visiting and support) show a slight decrease in negative relationships. More importantly, in the area of support, there is a marked move toward nonproblematic behavior in that support moves the most noticeably toward ceasing to be a topic of discussion. On the other hand, those topics that are marked by a lack of normative order

(children's health, school and behavior problems and sharing of good news) show an increase in negative relationships.

Discussions concerning the continuing relationship between ex-spouses generally show a diminution over time which the respondents largely attribute to factors related to time. These are the passage of time itself and the severing of contacts over time. Together these comprise 53.6% of the reasons given.

Another salient factor among the reasons for change is the large number of idiosyncratic responses regarding the changing nature of the relationships between ex-spouses whether the subject of discussion is the children or the adults themselves. In the absence of normative order individuals resort to personal role negotiations which may be conducted with a varying degree of success or failure.

Attitudes of the Present Wife

It seems reasonable to assume that the attitudes of the present wife may influence the contacts the divorced man has with both his children and his ex-wife. The men who had remarried were asked to indicate how their present wife reacted to the amount of time and money they allocated to their first children, and also how she reacted to the contacts he had with his ex-wife. These attitudes were examined over time with respondents asked to characterize attitudes at the time of the remarriage and at the time of the interview. The responses included in the scale were "usually resentful," "sometimes resentful," "not sure," "seems to accept," "encourages" and "other."

For ease of discussion the responses have been dichotomized into "resentment" ("usually resents" and "sometimes resentful") and "acceptance" ("seems to accept" and "encourages"). The "not sure" and "other" categories were dropped from analysis since the number of these responses were minimal.

Tables 10 and 11 show the attitudes of the present wife toward the amount of time and the amount of money the divorced father allocates to his first children. In both cases the reported attitudes of the present wife are those of marked acceptance with little change over time. Change that does occur is toward increased acceptance.

Acceptance of time allocated to the children is reported by 82.5% (47) at remarriage, rising to 88.5% (46) at the time of the interview. Acceptance of money allocated to the children is reported at 80.0% (44) at the remarriage, increasing slightly to 81.5% (44) at the time of the interview.

Attitudes of the present wife toward contacts with the ex-wife show a marked drop in resentment and an increase in acceptance over time (see Table 12). Men who report that their present wife indicated resentment had dropped from 56.3% (27) at the time of remarriage to 32.6% (15) at the time of the interview. Those reporting present wife acceptance had increased from 43.7% (21) at remarriage to 67.4% (31) at the time of the interview.

Respondents were also asked to respond to an open-ended question explaining the reasons for changes in attitude. For unknown

TABLE 10

ATTITUDES OF PRESENT WIFE TOWARD THE CONTACTS WITH FIRST CHILDREN AT TIME OF REMARRIAGE AND AT TIME OF INTERVIEW

	Time of Contact			
	At Remarriage		At Interview	
Attitudes	%	N*	%	N
Resentment	(17.5)	10	(11.5)	6
Acceptance	(82.5)	47	(88.5)	46
TOTALS	(100.0)	57	(100.0)	52

*Number of Women Reported

TABLE 11

ATTITUDES OF PRESENT WIFE TOWARD THE MONEY SPENT ON FIRST CHILDREN AT TIME OF REMARRIAGE AND AT TIME OF INTERVIEW

	Time Money Is Spent			
	At Remarriage		At Interview	
Attitudes	%	N*	%	N
Resentment	(20.0)	11	(18.5)	10
Acceptance	(80.0)	44	(81.5)	44
TOTALS	(100.0)	55	(100.0)	54

*Number of Women Reported

TABLE 12

ATTITUDES OF PRESENT WIFE TOWARD CONTACTS DIVORCED MAN HAS WITH EX-WIFE AT TIME OF REMARRIAGE AND AT TIME OF INTERVIEW

	Time of Contact			
	At Remarriage		At Interview	
Attitude	%	N*	%	N
Resentment	(56.3)	27	(32.6)	15
Acceptance	(43.7)	21	(67.4)	31
TOTALS	(100.0)	48	(100.0)	46

*Number of Women Reported

reasons only 21 men responded to this question. Once again idiosyncratic reasons predominated with 47.6% (10) giving a wide variety of explanations which could not be classified. The other three reasons which could be classified were the passage of time, 23.8% (5); the ex-wife being seen as less of a threat by the present wife, 19.0% (4); and the present wife becoming more accepting of his children, 9.5% (2).

Present wives were also evaluated by the respondents as to the degree of interest they showed in their stepchildren. Described as interested and involved with the stepchildren were 74.6% (44); interested but not involved, 5.1% (3); neutral, 8.5% (5); avoiding involvement, 5.1% (3); disliking the children, 1.7% (1); and other responses, 5.1% (3).

It seems obvious that the vast majority of present wives are very supportive from the beginning of the resources allotted by divorced men to their first children. In addition, a similar number take an active interest in the lives of their stepchildren. There is also a marked degree of tolerance for contacts the divorced man maintains with the ex-wife which develops over time. However, this finding must be evaluated in the light of the findings in the previous section that contacts between ex-spouses diminish substantially over time. It is much easier to be tolerant or even supporting of occasional contacts than it is of on-going contacts.

Satisfaction with Post-Divorce Fathering

From Weiss's discussion of the father's position in the home reported in the literature review, five paternal roles were conceptualized. These are the inculcation of values, provision of financial support, advice giving, discipline and protection (pp. 187-198). Respondents were asked to indicate whether they were very satisfied, usually satisfied, usually dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with their own performance in each of these roles.

Table 13 gives the breakdown of the responses. The combined satisfaction scores indicate that 70.1% (68) were satisfied with the support role, 57.5% (56) with the values role, 56.2% (54) with the advice role, 58.4% (56) with the disciplinarian role and 51.6% (48) with the protective role. When examining the degrees of satisfaction or dissatisfaction, however, it can be seen that, with the exception of the support role, those who were satisfied were more often only usually satisfied but those who were dissatisfied were more likely to be very dissatisfied.

In a related question, respondents were also asked how they felt about the part they had been able to play in their children's lives since the divorce. Sixteen percent (15) saw themselves as very satisfied and 22.3% (21) as reasonably satisfied. Another 23.3% (22) felt that there would have to be some changes made before they would be satisfied. Of the remainder, 10.6% (10) were mostly dissatisfied, 23.8% (24) were very dissatisfied and 3.2% (3) gave other responses.

TABLE 13

EFFECT OF DIVORCE ON THE SATISFACTION OF THE FATHER'S PERFORMANCE IN FIVE PATERNAL ROLES

	Paternal Roles									
	Support		Values		Advice		Discipline		Protection	
Role Satisfaction	%	N*	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Very Satisfied	(39.2)	48	(23.7)	23	(17.7)	17	(18.1)	18	(22.6)	21
Usually Satisfied	(30.9)	30	(34.0)	33	(38.5)	37	(39.6)	38	(29.0)	27
Usually Dissatisfied	(13.4)	13	(16.5)	16	(18.8)	18	(17.7)	17	(21.5)	20
Very Dissatisfied	(16.5)	16	(25.8)	25	(25.0)	24	(24.0)	23	(26.9)	25
TOTALS	(100.0)	97	(100.0)	97	(100.0)	96	(100.0)	96	(100.0)	93

*Number of Fathers

In other efforts to tap the effects of divorce on the father-child relationship, fathers were asked about the emotional strain of contacting their children when they knew they would have to say "good-bye" when it was over. The question was whether or not they had ever avoided contacting their children for this reason.

The greatest response to this question was "no" with 32.6% (29) indicating they never had a problem with this. Another 25.8% (23) indicated that it used to be a problem and they had become accustomed to it. Still another 25.8% (23) indicated that although it was difficult for them they still saw their children as much as possible. Eight men indicated that they did avoid, or sometimes would avoid, seeing their children for this reason.

Respondents were also asked if they had ever considered surrendering their children for adoption either for the sake of the child or for their own sake. A large majority of 85.1% (80) indicated that they had never considered adoption for the sake of either party. Twelve men said that they had given the matter some degree of consideration for either themselves or the children. One of these stated that he was currently giving the matter serious consideration for his own sake. Three respondents had surrendered a child for adoption by the stepfather.

In evaluating the above responses it should be noted that some of the men who had one or more of their children living with them also responded to those questions and it is likely that there is

some bias in the direction of satisfactions with fathering. Even ignoring this possible bias it appears that divorce makes substantial inroads into the satisfactions men derive from fathering after divorce. At least 40.0% of the respondents expressed some degree of dissatisfaction with four of the five paternal roles. The one role in which more satisfaction was expressed was the support role for which normative behaviors are delineated by law. In the other measure of satisfaction with fathering, 57.7% expressed some degree of dissatisfaction. In spite of these dissatisfactions the vast majority of respondents claimed they never had considered abandoning the paternal role by surrender for adoption.

Pre-Divorce Paternal Role Performance as a Cause of Divorce

Respondents were asked to indicate to what extent they saw disagreement over child rearing practices as a cause of their divorce. They were to indicate if this was a major issue, a minor issue or no issue for each of the five paternal roles discussed above. Table 14 gives the findings. Disagreement over child rearing practices does not seem to be a causal factor in 75.6% of the cases (the mean of the "no issue" responses for the five roles).

Natural Father Versus Stepfather Responsibility

Since it is a central assumption of this study that post-divorce roles lack institutionalization respondents were asked whom they felt should have the most responsibility for fulfilling the five paternal roles if the ex-wife remarries. This question was asked of all men

TABLE 14

CHILD REARING PRACTICES AS A CAUSE OF DIVORCE FOR FIVE PATERNAL ROLES

	Five Paternal Roles				
	Support	Values	Advice	Discipline	Protection
Cause of Divorce	N*	N	N	N	N
Major Issue	7	9	13	18	12
Minor Issue	8	13	17	15	6
No Issue	83	78	68	67	82
TOTALS	98	100	98	100	100

*Number of Fathers

whether their ex-wife had remarried or not. This means that some men were anticipating what their attitude would be and for the remainder, the choice was based on experience. When this factor was controlled few differences appeared between the two groups and these were not statistically significant.

The choices were that the stepfather had exclusive or most responsibility, the natural father had exclusive or most responsibility or that the responsibility should be equally shared. The results are given in Table 15.

Ignoring for the moment the equal responsibility responses, the support role is seen as more of the natural father's responsibility with a combined 46.7% (42) respondents selecting him as compared with a combined 35.5% (32) selecting the stepfather. In the other four roles there is a slight trend toward more stepfather responsibility, particularly in the discipline and protection roles which require that the parent be present in order to fulfill the roles. However, the development of such a wide distribution of responses indicates a lack of sanctions for either parental position and suggests instead a high degree of role ambiguity.

Sub-Sample Differences

In the previous chapter the possibility of sample bias was noted due to the manner in which the fourth sub-sample was obtained. This group consisted of men who had responded to a newspaper article explaining the research and requesting volunteers to be interviewed. It was noted by the telephone receptionists and the

TABLE 15

AMOUNT OF RESPONSIBILITY THE NATURAL FATHER ASSIGNS TO SELF AND STEPFATHER FOR FIVE PATERNAL ROLES

	Five Paternal Roles									
	Support		Values		Advice		Discipline		Protection	
Amount of Responsibility	%	N*	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Stepfather Exclusively	(12.2)	11	(9.0)	8	(6.7)	6	(16.7)	15	(14.4)	13
Stepfather Most	(23.3)	21	(39.3)	35	(39.3)	35	(45.6)	41	(43.3)	39
Equal Responsibility	(17.8)	16	(23.6)	21	(29.2)	26	(18.9)	17	(25.6)	23
Natural Father Most	(30.0)	27	(14.6)	13	(11.3)	10	(7.8)	7	(6.7)	6
Natural Father Exclusively	(16.7)	15	(13.5)	12	(13.5)	12	(11.0)	10	(10.0)	9
TOTALS	(100.0)	90	(100.0)	89	(100.0)	89	(100.0)	90	(100.0)	90

*Number of Fathers

interviewers that this group expressed a marked amount of resentment concerning their divorce experience. This impression was confirmed when analyzing the additional comments that respondents were invited to make at the end of the interview. Almost three times as many of this group accused the courts of bias against the male in divorce proceedings as the other three sub-samples. They also mentioned more frequently the negative effects of divorce on their ability to assume parental responsibility. On the other hand, they did not mention as frequently the negative effects of divorce on their personal well-being as did the county records sub-sample.

In examining the data for differences in these sub-samples which might bias the findings, the first one (Epi-Center) was dropped from the analysis since it only contained three cases. The analysis is therefore of the second sub-sample (county records), the third sub-sample (snow ball) and the fourth sub-sample (newspaper).

There were no statistically significant differences in the three sub-samples regarding social class, religion or education. In fact, the distribution of the three sub-samples on social class was almost identical ($p > .99$). Race was not analyzed since 95% of the total sample were Caucasian.

Sub-sample differences did appear in terms of two of the dependent variables. As might be expected, fewer of the newspaper and snow ball sub-samples had custody of one or more of their children or had one or more of their children living with them. Custody was held by 38.9% (7) of the newspaper group and 5.6% (1) of

the snow ball group compared with 55.6% (10) of the county records groups. Having a child live with them involved only 35.0% (7) of the newspaper sub-sample and 10.0% (2) of the snow ball sub-sample as compared with 55.0% (11) of the county records group. Not only was none of the cases large in number but none of the differences was statistically significant. Since custody or living arrangements are likely to be the cause of differences in attitudes toward the court rather than an effect, these differences will not be considered further as an independent variable.

The newspaper sub-sample did show a statistically significant effect on one of the categories of the dependent variable "frequency of visits." The impact of this on the findings concerning the first hypothesis will be discussed at the appropriate time.

All of the independent variables which will be used in the analysis of the data were examined for sub-sample differences. None demonstrated any statistically significant differences. In spite of the complaints of the newspaper respondents about court biases, differences between them and the other two samples on support and visiting arrangements did not exceed 11 percentage points.

Summary Description of the Dependent and Independent Variables

The following summarizes the significant findings of each of the dependent and independent variables presented above.

1. Arrangements for visiting were more likely to be made by mutual consent than through third party intervention. The frequency

of personal contacts between divorced fathers and their children are associated with changes in marital status. Visiting frequency reduces following the remarriage of either ex-spouse with the remarriage of the ex-wife having a more noticeable effect than the remarriage of the father. Arrangements for visiting were more likely to be made by mutual consent. Changes in the frequency of mail and phone contacts were less marked when examined by marital status. They tend to increase after the remarriage of the ex-wife when compared with their frequency at the time of the divorce.

2. Arrangements for child support were more likely to be made through third parties than by mutual consent. The great majority of respondents reported that they never missed a payment and more than half maintained some type of insurance on their children. Requests for extra funds were affected by the marital status of either ex-spouse with the remarriage of the father resulting in an increase in favorable response and the remarriage of the ex-wife resulting in a decrease.

3. Relationships with the ex-wife generally moved toward a reduction in hostile feelings and an increase in neutral or friendly feelings. Attitudes of the ex-wife toward the continuing relationship between fathers and children showed shifts both from support to opposition and vice-versa between the time of the divorce and the time of the interview.

4. Contacts with the ex-wife tended to remain active over matters concerning the children but to eventually disappear over

matters concerning the adults. Contacts concerning the children were less problematic if they involved institutionalized roles.

5. Attitudes of the present wife toward resources allocated to the children of the first marriage and toward the ex-wife were remarkably supportive. Any change was in the direction of improvement.

6. Displeasure was expressed over the satisfaction to be found in fathering after divorce. However, this did not seem to result in reducing or abandoning the father role to any significant degree.

7. Dissatisfaction with child rearing practices does not seem to be a significant factor as a cause of divorce.

CHAPTER VI

DATA ANALYSIS AND TEST OF THE HYPOTHESES

In this chapter the data relative to the three hypotheses will be analyzed to determine whether the hypotheses will be accepted or rejected. Each hypothesis will be restated, the pertinent data reviewed and a finding of acceptance or rejection determined. In each case this will be followed by an examination of other independent variables which might be expected to have some affect on the results which were achieved.

Test of the First Hypothesis

The first hypothesis proposed that both personal contacts with the children and financial support will decrease with changes in the marital status of either ex-spouse. By referring back to the bottom half of Table 1 on page 44 it can be seen that there is an increase in less frequent visiting and a decrease in more frequent visiting with the assumption of a new marital status by either ex-spouse. These differences are significant at the $p < .05$ level ($X^2 = 14.31$, d.f. = 3). The association is weak, however (Cramer's $V = .23$). Mail contacts are used by only a third of the sample and remain relatively stable. Phone contacts also remain relatively stable but show some change opposite to the predicted direction by increasing after the remarriage of the ex-wife (see Table 2 on page 46).

Of the several measures of financial support included in the questionnaire only one measured support at the four marital statuses employed in the study. This measured voluntary giving at the request of either the child or the ex-wife. It was used since it would provide a test of involvement free of legal coercion. By re-examining Table 3 on page 52 it can be seen that the remarriage of the father actually increases his favorable response to a request for extra funds whether it comes from the child or the ex-wife. After the remarriage of the ex-wife the favorable responses decrease at the request of either the child or the ex-wife. However, none of these differences reaches statistical significance.

The null hypothesis of no difference is rejected when using frequency of visits as an indicator of personal contacts since visiting does reduce at a statistically significant level with the remarriage of either ex-spouse. The null hypothesis is accepted, however, when using mail or phone contacts as a measure of personal contact. The null hypothesis is also accepted when measuring voluntary support. The response is in the predicted direction for visiting but shows no direction, or is in the opposite direction, for mail and phone contacts and for support.

Examination of Additional Variables

In order to construct a model of visiting frequency that could be entered into the computer and used to examine visiting frequency by other variables, it was necessary to eliminate visiting length from the data presented in the findings in Chapter V. This required

summarizing frequency of visits so that just the visiting mode reflecting the greatest number of visits was used. In other words, if a father had his children visit every month for a day and quarterly for a week, only the monthly visit was counted since it represented the greatest frequency. Therefore, the total n reported in the following discussion will be less than that of the table in Chapter V. The maximum reduction in n for any one marital status is 21. Since the trend of reducing visits for the remarriage statuses is maintained any distortion will not substantially affect the validity of the findings.

Both the weakness of the association between visiting frequency and common sense indicate that other factors may be operating in the reduction of the number of visits between father and child. Eleven independent variables were examined for their effect on visiting frequency. Nine of these proved to be statistically not significant although four showed directions of interest. The two that achieved statistical significance were geographic distance and the sub-sample differences.

The nine that failed to achieve significance were religion, social class, continuity of support, degree of emotional difficulty experienced by the father when visiting, the attitudes of the current wife toward the ex-wife and toward the amount of time and money allocated to the children, the relationship between the father and the ex-wife and the extent to which the ex-wife supported or opposed visiting. The four of these that showed directions of interest were

religion, social class, continuity of support and the ex-wife's attitudes toward visiting. In the discussion which follows these four variables will be treated first followed by the evidence on the two significant variables.

Religion, Class, Support and Attitude Variables

Catholics visited more frequently than Protestants at all marital statuses. Differences were small at the separation and divorce statuses but at the father's remarriage 76.9% (10) of the Catholics visited more frequently compared to 51.6% (16) of the Protestants. After the remarriage of the ex-wife 80.0% (4) of the Catholics visited more frequently compared to 40.9% (9) of the Protestants.

After the remarriage of the ex-wife, Class I and II respondents visited more frequently than Class III and IV respondents. Although the total number of respondents in these four categories was only 28, the trend is unmistakeable. In Classes I and II, 75.0% (3) and 70.0% (7) of the fathers visited more frequently compared with 30.0% (3) of Class III and 25.05% (1) of Class IV.

While continuity of support did not have much affect on visiting frequency at the separation and divorce status, after the remarriage of the father 62.9% (22) of those who never stopped payment visited more frequently compared with 50.0% (7) of the fathers who had stopped payment. After the remarriage of the ex-wife the contrast is even greater. Of those who had never stopped payment 52.4% (11) visited more frequently compared with 37.5% (3) of the fathers who had stopped payment.

The relationship between the father and the ex-wife also showed no effect on visiting frequency at the time of the divorce. However, in terms of supporting the father's relationship with his children, 84.2% (32) of fathers whose ex-wife supported the relationship visited more frequently compared with 65.7% (23) of those whose ex-wife opposed the relationship. While this finding did not attain statistical significance it approached significance at the .07 level. Unfortunately, it is not possible to compare this relationship at the two remarried statuses since the questionnaire design did not yield the necessary data.

Sub-sample and Geographic Variables

Sub-sample differences in visiting frequency did appear with the newspaper group engaging in more frequent visits at all marital statuses. However, these were only statistically significant for the divorced status. The snow ball sub-sample, which only contained ten cases, increased visiting after divorce and after the father's remarriage. This group did not visit at all after the remarriage of the ex-wife. However, both the newspaper and the county records groups followed the expected trend. The newspaper group dropped in frequency from 90.0% (29) at separation to 73.3% (14) at the remarriage of the father and to 62.5% (10) at the remarriage of the ex-wife. The county records group went from 82.6% (19) to 44.0% (11) and 33.3% (4) for the same statuses. Table 16 shows the differences in the sub-samples for the divorced status only.

TABLE 16

SUB-SAMPLE DIFFERENCES IN VISITING FREQUENCY AT DIVORCE

Frequency of Visits	County Records %	N*	Snow Ball %	N	Newspaper %	N
Less Frequent	(40.7)	11	(29.4)	5	(12.1)	4
More Frequent	(59.3)	16	(70.6)	12	(87.9)	29
TOTALS	(100.0)	27	(100.0)	17	(100.0)	33

*Number of Fathers

$X^2 = 6.46$ with d.f. = 2, $p < .05$

Cramer's V = 2.9

Geographic distance was also examined as an independent variable certain to have an effect on visiting frequency. Of those fathers who did not have custody of their children 51.7% (46) lived less than 50 miles away. Of the remainder 6.7% (6) lived between 51 and 150 miles, 5.6% (5) between 151 and 300 miles and 36.0% (32) over 300 miles. Since the two intermediate distances contained only 11 cases combined, distance was dichotomized as "less than 150 miles" and "more than 151 miles."

The data in Table 17 indicate that when controlling for distance the trend toward visits in the more frequent category decrease and visits in the less frequent category increase after the remarriage of either spouse. However, the change for those fathers living further away is much greater than for those living closer. For those living the greater distance more frequent visiting decreases

TABLE 17

FREQUENCY OF VISITS BY MARITAL STATUS CONTROLLING FOR DISTANCE

	Less Than 150 Miles							
	Marital Status							
	Separated		Divorced		Father Remarried		Ex-wife Remarried	
Frequency of Visits	%	N†	%	N	%	N	%	N
More Frequent[1]	(83.7)	36	(85.1)	40	(77.4)	24	(66.7)	12
Less Frequent[2]	(16.3)	7	(14.9)	7	(22.6)	7	(33.3)	6
TOTAL	(100.0)	43	(100.0)	47	(100.0)	31	(100.0)	18

[1]More than once per month

[2]Once per month or less

†Number of Fathers

TABLE 17 (Continued)

Frequency of Visits	More Than 150 Miles — Marital Status: Separated %	N†	Divorced %	N	Father Remarried %	N	Ex-wife Remarried %	N
More Frequent[1]	(85.7)	24	(62.1)	18	(30.0)	6	(18.2)	2
Less Frequent[2]	(14.3)	4	(37.9)	11	(70.0)	14	(81.8)	9
TOTAL	(100.0)	28	(100.0)	29	(100.0)	20	(100.0)	11
PHI COEFFICIENT	.03	NS	.26*		.47***		.47**	

[1]More than once per month

[2]Once per month or less

*p < .05

**p < .01

***p < .001

†Number of Fathers

from 85.7% during separation to 30.0% after the father's remarriage and 18.2% after the remarriage of the ex-wife. A look at the figures for those fathers living closer to their children shows a similar trend but a less drastic change for either frequency of visit. In these cases the drop in more frequent visiting is from 83.7% during separation to 77.4% at the father's remarriage and 66.7% at the remarriage of the ex-wife.

The Chi-square test for independence was applied to the 2 X 2 tables created by examining frequency of visit by geographic distance for each marital status and the Phi coefficient computed to indicate the strength of the relationship between frequency and distance. The association is nonexistent for separation, (.03, NS) weak for divorce (.26, sig. < .05) and moderate for the remarriage of either spouse. The association at the father's remarriage is .47 (sig. < .01) and at the ex-wife's remarriage is .47 (sig. < .001).

As expected, then, distance is a significant factor in determining visiting frequency; however, marital status still shows an effect on visiting frequency when distance is controlled.

Summary

In summarizing this rather complicated analysis of the first hypothesis the following salient features emerge.

1. Visiting does change in relation to marital status. It decreases slightly after the divorce compared to the separation period and decreases with the remarriage of either ex-spouse. The decline, however, is greater when the ex-wife remarries than it is when the father remarries.

2. This change in visiting frequency is affected, at statistically significant levels, by sub-sample at the time of the divorce and by geographic distance at the remarriage of either ex-spouse.

3. Although not statistically significant, religion, class, continuity of support payments and the attitude of the ex-wife toward the continuing father-child relationship appear to affect visiting frequency. Catholics visit more frequently than Protestants at all marital statuses. After the remarriage of the ex-wife the higher social classes visit more frequently than the lower classes. Upon resumption of marital status by either ex-spouse those men who had stopped or missed payments visited less frequently than those who had not. At divorce, fathers whose ex-wives oppose visitation visit less frequently.

4. Attitudes of the current wife toward the allocation of time and money to the first family or her attitudes toward the ex-wife had no effect on visiting frequency. Neither did the relationship between the ex-spouses nor the degree of emotional difficulty experienced by the father when visiting.

5. Mail and phone contacts between father and child remained relatively stable across all marital statuses except that phone contacts increased after the remarriage of the ex-wife.

6. There are indications that voluntary contributions by the father actually increase after his remarriage but drop substantially after the remarriage of the ex-wife.

Test of the Second Hypothesis

The second hypothesis proposed that the use of third parties to negotiate post-divorce paternal roles would depend upon pre-divorce paternal role performance as evaluated by the ex-wife. If pre-divorce performance was seen as unfavorable then third party involvement would increase. The use of a third party to negotiate child support and visiting roles differed markedly for each of these two dependent variables. As noted in the last chapter, 79.1% (68) of the sample used third party intervention when making arrangements for child support compared with only 37.2% (35) who used third party intervention to make arrangements for visiting. Obviously arranging for visitation was much less of a problem than arranging for child support.

Child Support

Disagreement over pre-divorce paternal performance was apparently not an issue in the utilization of third party intervention in making child support arrangements. In all paternal roles except one, the proportion of couples using third party intervention was over 65.0% regardless of whether or not pre-divorce paternal role performance was a causal factor in the divorce. The one exception was found in the support role where third party intervention was over 80.0% regardless of whether or not pre-divorce support was an issue in the divorce.

Visiting Arrangements

There is no evidence to indicate that disagreement over pre-divorce paternal role performance affects the way in which visiting arrangements are derived regardless of the father role under examination. At the most there were only eight percentage points of difference between the "major issue," "minor issue" and "no issue" groups in their ability to reach agreement on visiting by mutual consent.

The null hypothesis of no difference between groups is accepted and the second hypothesis stipulating a relationship between pre-divorce paternal role performance and the use of third party intervention is rejected.

Examination of Additional Variables

The rejection of the second predictive hypothesis may be due to other variables having an impact on arrangements for child support and visiting. The three demographic variables that have emerged as potentially significant are sub-sample differences, religion and social class. Sub-sample differences can be quickly ruled out as no substantial differences were revealed when examining either dependent variable. When testing for the effects of either religion or class on arrangements for child support, third party intervention was used at least 70.0% of the time regardless of religious affiliation or class level. Problems over arranging for child support appear to occur regardless of any variable considered in this study.

Living arrangements do show differences when examined by class and religion. Only 37.5% (3) of Class IV arranged for visiting by mutual consent compared with 60.0% (27) of Class III and 69.0% (20) of Class II. These differences were not statistically significant and the total number of cases for Class IV only reached eight.

When testing for religion, however, 79.2% (38) of Protestants arranged for visiting by mutual consent compared with only 20.8% (10) of Catholics. While the association was weak (Phi = .25) it was significant at $P < .05$ (see Table 18).

TABLE 18

ARRANGEMENTS FOR VISITING BY RELIGION

	Arrangements for Visiting			
	Mutual Consent		Third Party	
Religion	%	N*	%	N
Protestant	(79.2)	38	(55.2)	16
Catholic	(20.8)	10	(44.8)	13
TOTAL	(100.0)	48	(100.0)	29

$X^2 = 3.89$, d.f. = 1, $P < .05$

Phi Coefficient = .25

*Number of Fathers

Summary

The analysis of the second hypothesis strongly suggests that child support and visiting are not comparable post-divorce roles. Child support was negotiated largely through third parties while visiting arrangements were not. Furthermore, the ways in which child

support arrangements were derived were not affected by any of the independent variables used in this study. There is some reason to suspect, however, that arrangements for visiting are affected by class and religion. Almost twice as many middle class respondents arranged for visiting by mutual consent compared to lower class respondents. Considerably fewer Catholics arranged for visiting by mutual consent than did Protestants at a statistically significant level.

Test of the Third Hypothesis

The third hypothesis proposes that having custody of one or more of the children or having one or more of the children live with the father will be more characteristic of middle class fathers than of upper or lower class fathers. In the tables that follow the upper class is represented by Class I, the middle class by Classes II and III and the lower class by Classes IV and V.

Tables 19 and 20 present the findings for both custody and living arrangements. Custody was held by 73.6% (14) of middle class fathers compared with only 26.4% (5) of lower class fathers. No upper class fathers held custody. These findings were statistically significant.

The pattern for living arrangements is similar. In the middle class groups 80.9% (17) of the fathers had one or more of their children living with them compared to 19.1% (4) of the lower class fathers. None of the upper class fathers had a child living with him. While these second findings were not statistically significant they approached significance at the .08 level.

TABLE 19

NUMBER OF FATHERS HAVING CUSTODY OF ONE OR MORE OF THEIR CHILDREN BY SOCIAL CLASS

	Social Class											
	I		II		III		IV		V		Totals	
Custody of Child	%	N*	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Yes		0	(36.8)	7	(36.8)	7	(26.4)	5		0	(100.0)	19
No	(11.3)	9	(30.0)	24	(51.3)	41	(6.3)	5	(1.1)	1	(100.0)	80

$X^2 = 9.38$, d.f. = 4 ($P < .05$)

Cramer's V = .31

*Number of Fathers

TABLE 20

NUMBER OF FATHERS HAVING CHILDREN LIVE WITH THEM BY SOCIAL CLASS

	Social Class											
	I		II		III		IV		V		Totals	
Living with Child	%	N*	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Yes		0	(47.6)	10	(33.3)	7	(19.1)	4		0	(100.0)	21
No	(11.5)	9	(26.9)	21	(52.6)	41	(7.7)	6	(1.3)	1	(100.0)	78

$X^2 = 8.33$, d.f. = 4. N.S.

*Number of Fathers

The null hypothesis of no difference is rejected when custody is used to indicate a rejection of traditional parental roles. However, the null hypothesis is accepted when using living arrangements to indicate a rejection of traditional parental roles. Middle class fathers are more likely than upper class or lower class fathers to reject traditional custody roles. Middle class fathers are no more likely than upper class or lower class fathers to reject traditional child care roles.

Religion was the only other independent variable which showed a possible influence on custody and living arrangements. Custody was held by 87.5% (14) of Protestants compared with 12.5% (2) of Catholics. A similar pattern appeared for living arrangements with 88.2% (15) of Protestant fathers having a child live with them compared with 11.8% (2) of Catholic fathers. These differences were not statistically significant.

CHAPTER VII

DISCUSSION

Since this study is of an exploratory nature, with a sample neither random nor representative, findings cannot be generalized to the population of divorced men at large. However, if meaning is to be derived in terms of opening new areas of investigation and the development of new hypotheses they must be related to the real world of post-divorce relationships. As a means of moving toward that goal the three dependent variables will be discussed in terms of the relationships occurring with important independent variables and also in relation to other available information.

Personal Contacts and Child Support

The first dependent variable involved personal contacts defined as visiting frequency, mail and phone contacts; and child support, defined as voluntary contributions. The decline observed in visiting frequency could be expected based on the findings of the three major studies reported in the literature review. However, the large number of fathers found in this study who continued to visit their children is at odds with Anspach's study in which a little over half of the fathers were reported as not visiting at all (1976).

It seems obvious in this study that the decline in visiting frequency occurring with changes in marital status cannot be interpreted as a decline in paternal interest. The increase in mail

contacts after the remarriage of either ex-spouse along with an increase in phone contacts after the remarriage of the ex-wife indicate a continuing desire to maintain the father-child relationship. It is not known if father or child was the originator of these contacts but it will be assumed that the father, if not originator, is at least responsive to the child.

There is no doubt an important inter-relationship between visiting frequency, phone contacts, marital status and geographic distance which is not at all clear. It seems likely that remarriage and moving may occur together. It also seems likely that phone calls will replace visiting when a geographic move reduces the practicality of personal visits. But, men may also voluntarily move far enough away to affect their visiting. This was reported by 23 respondents. It is not known if any of these moves was associated with their remarriage. The primary reason given for moving was job opportunity. This was reported by 11 men. Only five stated they moved to create distance between themselves and the ex-wife.

Remarriage of the ex-wife not only increases the possibility of a move but it also introduces a third person into the relationship in the form of a stepfather. The probable effect of this new role on the father's sense of responsibility, the difficulty of visiting and the father-child relationship, not to mention the attitudes of the ex-wife toward that relationship, can only be noted as fruitful areas for further investigation. Twenty-five men were asked by their ex-wives to stop visiting but it is not known how many of these occurrences were associated with her remarriage.

Respondents indicated that the presence of a stepfather does erode considerably the natural father's feelings of responsibility toward the five paternal roles. Over half (63.3%) indicated that the stepfather should have equal, or more, responsibility for support. In the values, advice, discipline and protection roles the comparable responses ran between 71.9% and 93.4%. These attitudes, which reflect a diminishing sense of responsibility associated with the remarriage of the ex-wife, may also have substantial influences on personal contacts and support.

The other statistically significant effect on visiting frequency was found in the sub-sample differences. Sub-sample differences occurred at all marital statuses although they were only significant at the divorce status. At all marital statuses the newspaper sub-sample visited more frequently than the other two subsamples. No reason comes to mind for this finding. This group expressed stronger feelings that the courts were biased against fathers and that divorce had a negative effect on the paternal role. Perhaps adversity breeds determination. However, it must be remembered that as a group their visits followed the same decline in frequency as the others.

The four variables that did not attain statistical significance also indicate possible effects on visiting frequency. There is no ready explanation of why Catholics visited more frequently than Protestants at all marital statuses.

Unfortunately, the construction of the questionnaire did not permit comparison of visiting frequency and the attitudes of the

ex-wife toward the father-child relationship at the remarriage of either ex-spouse. Whether the pattern of opposition which appeared to reduce visiting frequency found at divorce would continue after remarriage is not known. It seems likely that it would and that the attitude of the ex-wife has an important effect on visiting frequency. Newsome's study found the sentiments of the ex-wife to be a significant, if not always understood, intervening variable in permitting access to the children (1977).

Visiting frequency also appeared related to continuity of support in that those who stopped or missed payments did not visit as frequently as those who had never missed a payment. This only occurred for the two remarried statuses and not for the separated and divorced statuses. Only 26.7% (23) of the men reported ever stopping or missing payments. This is a far different experience than that reported by Goode (1965, p. 222) who found only 35% of ex-wives who reported regular payments and 40% who reported that payments were never made. A more current study indicates that in 1975 only 28.6% of all separated, divorced and remarried women received support payments (Current Population Reports, 1979). These data are based on the ex-wife's responses and are therefore not comparable to those of this study. However, it seems reasonable to assume that a man's claim to visitation rights weakens when he is delinquent in his payments, and the Goode and Newsome studies bear this out. It is, tnerefore, likely that a more representative sample would have proved continuity of support to be an important predictor of visiting frequency.

Social class also gave indications of having an effect on visiting frequency in that, after the remarriage of the ex-wife, the higher classes visited more frequently than the lower classes. Weiss (1975, p. 193) proposes that income level will affect visiting frequency when geographic distance is involved. The probable connection between remarriage and moving has already been noted.

While Goode does not deal directly with visiting frequency he does discuss the ex-wife's preferences for increased or decreased visiting based on some of the variables that have been considered here. He notes that 14.0% of the ex-wives wished that the father would not visit at all and another 20.0% wished that he would visit less often. The closest comparison in this study is the 25.0% who actually requested that he stop visiting mentioned earlier. In Goode's study the desire for less frequent visiting was associated with the remarriage of the ex-wife, continuity of support and her desire to punish the ex-husband (pp. 322-328).

In contrast to visiting frequency, voluntary support shows an unexpected twist. Such support payments actually increased after the remarriage of the father. The validity of this finding is supported by a major policy study done in Michigan involving 578 respondents drawn from both the national census and a Michigan panel used to study income dynamics. This study found that Caucasian men who were already making payments at the time of their remarriage increased the amount of their payments after remarriage (Cassetty, 1978, pp. 52-53). Some degree of internal validity is

also established by noting that 75.8% (44) of current wives supported the allocation of funds by fathers to their first families at the time of remarriage.

The sharp drop in the payment of voluntary support after the remarriage of the ex-wife is consistent with the responses noted above relative to the respondent's attitudes toward natural father versus stepfather responsibilities for support. It seems likely that those fathers who assign support responsibility to stepfathers would withdraw voluntary contributions when the ex-wife remarries. The Current Population Report just referred to also indicates that only 26% of remarried mothers received support in 1975 compared with 42% of currently divorced mothers.

In addition to the large number of men who claimed they never missed a support payment (72.0%), a third or more carried life insurance, hospitalization and/or kept savings accounts for their children. While all of this constitutes strong evidence of sample bias it also indicates that the pattern of responses to the issue of support is not the same for visiting frequency. Even though the sample is biased it still behaved as the three major studies indicated it would in relation to visiting frequency.

To summarize the findings on support it appears that the sample in this study is atypical in the continuity of their support payments. A third or more carried insurance or kept savings accounts for their children and at least some sent extra funds upon request at all marital statuses. However, the ways in which this

sample did conform to expected behavior occurs in the increase in support after the remarriage of the ex-wife. None of the other independent variables showed effects on voluntary support.

Before attempting to pull all these considerations into a cohesive response to the dependent variable under discussion, it might be helpful to review the theoretical considerations which led to the development of the first hypothesis. Due to the lack of institutional norms for post-divorce behavior it was assumed that the attempt of the divorced father to develop an appropriate response to his situation would produce role strain. This strain would be further aggravated by the assumption of new marital roles on the part of either ex-spouse. Resolution of the resulting role conflict would be likely to take the form of voluntary reductions in the actor's activity or in manipulation by others to get actor to reduce his role activity. Thus it was hypothesized that an increase in the number of role obligations for either ex-spouse would result in a decrease in resources allocated to the children of the previous marriage by the noncustodial parent.

Resources were defined as voluntary support and the time allotted to the children through personal contacts. The results of the tests of this hypothesis make two things clear. One is that all personal contacts cannot be treated equally. Visiting makes greater demands on the father's resources than do mail or phone contacts. Therefore, the latter are less likely to be affected by new role obligations. More importantly, it seems evident that visiting

and support are two separate variables, not two equal manifestations of the same variable. The examination of the variables relating to the derivation of support and visiting arrangements will enable the exploration of this idea to be pursued more thoroughly in the next section.

It can be concluded, then, that the first hypothesis is supported in relation to the effects of marital status on visiting frequency. In addition it seems highly probable that visiting frequency is also affected by geographic distance with the upper classes being less affected than the lower classes. Negative attitudes of the ex-wife toward the father-child relationship will decrease visiting frequency. Continuity of support payments will also have negative affects on visiting frequency regardless of marital status. The remarriage of the ex-wife has a greater negative effect on visiting frequency than the remarriage of the father. This likely relates in some way to the father's perceptions of the relative responsibilities of natural fathers and stepfathers. No particular conclusions can be drawn from either the effects of subsample differences or religion on visiting frequency. They remain unexplained.

The hypothesis is not supported in terms of mail and phone contacts which appear to replace visiting as a method of personal contact.

The hypothesis is rejected in terms of voluntary support decreasing with changes in marital status. As a result of the study

it appears that visiting and support cannot be seen as the same variables.

Visiting and Support Arrangements

The second dependent variable examines the way in which support and visiting arrangements are derived at the time of the divorce. The use of a third party to negotiate arrangements was assumed to be evidence of the inability of the couple to negotiate post-divorce roles without outside intervention. There was nothing in the literature review that would cause one to anticipate the great differences that appeared in the ways in which these two roles were negotiated. The number of cases using third party intervention to negotiate support (79.1%) compared to the number needed to negotiate visiting (37.2%) further strengthens the suggestion in the last section that support and visiting constitute two entirely different phenomena.

Goode's and Weiss's evaluation of the problems associated with support and visiting largely discuss these as post-divorce processes rather than considering how they are derived as a part of the divorce settlement. Goode (1965, p. 164) does note a 68% agreement among couples discussing support arrangements before the hearing; however, less than a third of the sample reported having such discussion. Weiss (1975) and Alexander (1980) are in some disagreement over the amount of conflict that occurs around visitation. Weiss (1975, pp. 109-111), 198-203) discusses the many sources of conflict which he has noted while Alexander (1980) emphasizes that

ex-spouses do put the best interests of the child above personal interests in a significant number of cases. Alexander also notes that the use of an attorney to arrange visitation at the time of the divorce occurs only 14% of the time, a finding consistent with this study.

Certainly support involves financial issues that are not involved in visiting. The possibility of arriving at a support agreement which will not require substantial costs on the part of both parties is not likely. On the other hand, couples may not be able to envision all the problems that can occur around visiting when they reach amicable decisions prior to having much experience with the visiting process.

Sutcliffe and Haberman (1956) suggest come theoretical considerations which might provide an explanation for the differences in how these two roles are negotiated. They propose that the greater the social sanctions the greater the likelihood that role conflicts will be resolved in a universalistic fashion. Weak sanctions in turn invite particularistic responses.

The social expectations concerning support are notably greater than those concerning visitation. Failure to support can bring about a strong legal response. While visitation is regarded as a paternal right it is in no legal sense considered an obligation. Personal, family and social pressures to visit may be strong in individual cases, but they in all probability do not carry the weight that the obligation to support does.

Now the relationship of the normative order to the four variables represented by visiting arrangement, visiting frequency, support arrangements and voluntary support payments becomes clearer. Visiting norms have fewer social sanctions attached to them; thus visiting arrangements are more likely to be privately arranged and the obligation to visit gives way to the more strongly sanctioned norms associated with a new marriage. The obligations incurred by remarriage supercede the weaker obligation to visit.

The strength of the support sanctions is suggested in that requests for extra funds coming from either the child or the ex-wife are honored to some degree at all marital statuses. It would also appear that present wives serve to strengthen these norms and the presence of a stepfather weakens them.

The evidence presented so far indicates strong support for the Sutcliffe-Haberman proposition. It would be possible to test it more completely by including the two other conflicts which Weiss (pp. 103-111) identifies as common in divorce settlements. These are custody and property division. A scale could be developed to measure the felt strength of norms relating to the four male roles involved in support, visiting, custody and property settlement. These could be examined for the extent to which third party interventions are relied upon for conflict resolution compared to prearranged private agreements. The specific hypothesis would state that the greater the felt strength of sanctions regarding post-divorce roles, the greater the likelihood that third party intervention would be used to negotiate those roles.

While this second hypothesis failed to reach statistical significance that does not mean it should be abandoned without further exploration. In the first place it is logically sound. It could be anticipated that couples who had difficulty negotiating parental roles within the marital structure would have even more difficulty in the absence of any structure. Secondly, the finding that social class and religion have some probable effect, independent of each other, on the use of third party intervention in arranging visitation indicates that something is operating that influences role bargaining.

When theoretical expectations are not met, attention must be given to the selection and operationalization of variables and to questionnaire construction and administration. It may be that disagreement over child rearing practices does not occur that frequently as a major cause of divorce. Of the five paternal roles, disagreement over discipline was mentioned most often as a major cause of divorce but this only occurred in 18.0% of the sample. Other areas of disagreement may be as much, or more, significant as predictors of role bargaining success and these would need to be identified.

It is also possible that the questionnaire did not clearly distinguish between the use of attorneys or other third parties as negotiators attempting to arrive at a compromise versus attorneys who are merely seeing that the previously agreed upon wishes of the couple are being carried out by the court.

Identification of the appropriate variables and refinement of the questionnaire might lead to more significant findings than were achieved in this study.

Custody and Living Arrangements

The examination of the data pertaining to the third hypothesis showed a weak but significant association between custody and social class. The relationship between living arrangements and class was not statistically significant but moved in the same direction. There was also a large difference between Catholics and Protestants with Catholics having either custody, or their children living with them, in far fewer cases. These differences were not statistically significant but the suggestion is strong that religion has some influence on these behaviors independent of social class.

The finding that father custody is related to social class is supported by the Gersick (1979) study. He also found that attorneys were generally not supportive of father custody. He suggests a social class effect in the attorney-client relationship in that the professional and middle class men seemed able to use their attorneys while the lower class men felt that their attorneys used them. Weiss (1975, pp. 169-171) also noted the reluctance of attorneys to ask for father custody for their clients.

The relationship of these findings to Merton's thesis can be seen in the attempt of attorneys to protect culturally approved sex-stereotyped roles and the willingness of middle class parents to attack the norms governing those roles. The hypothesis predicting that father custody and living arrangements would be associated with the middle class, but not the upper or lower classes, is

supported in terms of custody. It is not supported in terms of living arrangements.

Why the living arrangements variable did not attain significance is not known but there is at least one reason why it may not be as much of a class related phenomenon as custody. Children may move from the home of one parent to another without seeking court approval. Therefore, at that point, parents are not as likely to come into conflict with stereotyped views regarding the appropriateness of paternal roles as they do when seeking custody.

A possible explanation of the apparent effect of religion on custody and living arrangements is suggested by the findings of Durkheim that Catholics possess a higher degree of integration with group norms (1951, pp. 156-160). Thus, they might be less likely to challenge existing norms or the authority of the courts.

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY AND EVALUATION

This study reports the results of interviews with a convenience sample of 101 divorced fathers conducted to determine the nature and extent of the relationships they maintain with their first families. The questionnaire covered seven major areas--marital and family history, visitation experience, child support, relationships with the ex-wife, relationships with the current wife, the effects of divorce on the father role and the demographic characteristics of the sample.

Three hypotheses were developed for testing drawn from theoretical findings on role conflict, role bargaining and the relationship of social structure to deviance. The first hypothesis proposed that the resources allocated by the father to the children of his previous marriage would decrease as the role obligations of either ex-spouse increased. Resources were defined as personal contacts and financial support. Increased role obligations were defined as the remarriage of either ex-spouse. The hypothesis was supported in terms of visiting but not in terms of mail and phone contacts. It was rejected in relation to child support.

The second hypothesis proposed that the use of third parties to negotiate post-divorce paternal roles would be more likely to occur if pre-divorce paternal roles were seen as unsatisfactory by the

ex-wife. The use of third parties was defined as a court order issued without the knowledge of, or against the wishes of, either ex-spouse; or the reliance upon attorneys or other third parties to negotiate visiting or support arrangements. Unsatisfactory pre-divorce paternal role performance was defined as the extent to which parental role performance was a causal factor in the divorce.

This hypothesis was rejected but an alternative hypothesis was developed from the data and a further examination of the literature on role bargaining. This new hypothesis related post-divorce role bargaining to the felt strength of four norms regulating male post-divorce obligations. This hypothesis predicts that the greater the felt strength of sanctions regarding post-divorce roles the greater the likelihood that third party interventions would be used to negotiate those roles. The necessary data were not available to test this hypothesis.

The third hypothesis predicted that middle class divorced parents would be more likely to reject traditional custody and living arrangements than either upper or lower class parents. Rejection of traditional custody or living arrangements was defined as the father having custody of one or more of his children or having one or more of his children live with him. This hypothesis was accepted when using custody as the dependent variable but rejected when using living arrangements as the dependent variable.

In the analysis of the data some significant intervening variables were identified leading to suggestions for further study. These will be discussed below along with a critique of the research.

Problems in the Research

Several problems emerged in the sample selection and questionnaire administration which need to be evaluated.

The problem of volunteerism is obvious. Although the men who had complaints against the court system were included as well as others who appeared more satisfied, there was little participation by men who had abandoned their children either temporarily or permanently. Only three of the respondents surrendered their children for adoption and only two had been caught up in the enforcement of the Uniform Reciprocal Enforcement Support Act. While comparative figures are not available for these two groups it is likely that they are substantially under represented in the sample. The number of refusals (25) also indicates the presence of another population which was not tapped whose responses might have changed the findings in various ways. In reading about the problems of population identification and sample selection in the studies reported in the literature review, it is apparent that these are problems that occur in all divorce research.

The failure of the interview schedule to investigate the attitude of the ex-wife toward continuing contacts between father and child at the time of the remarriage of the two ex-spouses deprives the study of important information needed to understand visiting behavior more completely. The finding that did emerge indicates that her attitude is significant. Changes in it that might be affected by the remarriage of either ex-spouse need to be examined.

The proper way to inquire into changes in visiting frequency with changes in marital status remained problematic even after pre-testing the schedule. In pre-testing it became obvious that a question phrased, "What effect did your (her) remarriage have on your visiting?" would usually bring a negative response. Probing questions, however, would reveal that there was a change. On the other hand, the response to the question as it was applied ("How often did you visit your children after your (her) remarriage?") may have indicated a change that took place some time after the event and had no relation to the remarriage. When added to the problem of integrating visiting length with frequency so that there is a true measure of time allotment (see Chapter V), the chances for sampling error are quite large.

Another major problem in the questionnaire was also introduced in Chapter V. The number of responses was low to the questions regarding voluntary payments, probably due to lack of question clarity. While responses indicate a logical pattern reinforced by empirical finding, the loss of information is regrettable.

Since religious differences appeared as a potentially important independent variable in all three hypotheses it is probable that a stricter measure of religion would have provided more information. A simple measure of religious preference was used without any attempt to examine background or religiosity.

Balanced against these deficits are indicators of the validity of the information obtained.

Validity of the Findings

While representativeness is not a critical issue in an exploratory study it is still helpful to know to what extent the sample selected may depart from the total population under study. This sample appears unique in two respects. In both child support and visitation respondents were more involved with their children than the findings of other studies would indicate is the norm. This raises the question of the truthfulness of the answers and the problem of retrospection. From the researcher's own experience and discussion with the research assistants, there is no reason to expect falsehood in reporting. Participants seemed anxious to cooperate for the most part. Only one interview was rejected because of obvious lying on the part of the respondent. The problem of retrospection is more difficult. According to the mean for the interval between the divorce and the interview, information was required covering more than four years. The extreme case was over 15 years. It seems impossible that there would not be distortions in responses due to time.

What appears as a weakness, however, can also be seen as a strength. Those data that are in agreement with the findings of other studies not only acquire validity for themselves but also lend validity to nonconforming data since the errors of retrospection are not likely to be uniformly selective. Following are some of the findings that received strong support from other sources.

The decline in visitation was predicted by Goode (1965) and confirmed by the work of Weiss (1975) and Heatherington et al.

(1976). Internally it remains constant in spite of sub-sample differences. The observed reduction in both contacts and conflict with the ex-wife in terms of their personal relationship is confirmed by Goode, Weiss, Heatherington et al., Goldsmith (1979) and Albrecht (1980). The shifting relationship between ex-spouses over continuing father-child relationships is also noted by Weiss. The inroads made by divorce into the father's satisfaction with the paternal role is noted by Weiss, Heatherington et al., Goldsmith, Newsome (1979) and Grief (1977). The relationship of social class to specific behaviors and to the ability to handle inter-personal relationships and negotiate systems is in keeping with general sociological theory.

Findings in Relation to Theory

Two of the theoretical assumptions underlying this research are that post-divorce behavior has not been institutionalized and that as a result role conflict will characterize exchanges between ex-spouse and others in the divorce chain. There are five important indicators of anomie and role conflict that emerge from the data analysis. The wide spread in the answers concerning the relative responsibility of natural fathers and stepfathers for the five paternal roles bears striking evidence of normlessness.

While continuity of support was much higher than the national norms, the number of men sending extra funds at the request of either the child or the ex-wife was quite low. This indication of the absence of normative pressures toward voluntary support is

confirmed by the Goetting (1979) study which found a lack on consensus between ex-spouses over how much the ex-wife should ask for extra funds and how the father should respond.

That normative order reduces role conflict and lack of order engenders conflict, is demonstrated by examining the post-divorce contacts between ex-spouses. When post-divorce contacts concern the children, those contacts involving roles that are somewhat specific (support and visitation) moved toward less conflict over time. Those nonspecific roles such as sharing good news, and concerns over the child's health and behavior showed increasing conflict over time. One respondent made direct reference to this situation by commenting that when he and his ex-wife began to rely on the structure provided by the court order arguments over visitation disappeared.

The one area in which personal contacts between ex-spouses persisted over time occurred when they shared a common interest in friends and relatives. Levinger (1978, p. 54) cites the findings of social anthropologists relative to the importance of friend and kinship networks in stabilizing relationships even though affective ties between couples may be weak.

The great number of idosyncratic reasons for changes in post-divorce relationships which appeared in several of the variables indicates that role negotiations are occurring unaided by normative guidelines. When norms are structured reasons for change should fall into discernible patterns.

The last indicator of normlessness is found in the changes in attitudes of ex-wives towards the continuing father-child

relationship. In addition to evidence of normlessness the fact that change occurred in both directions indicates that some couples were more successful in resolving role conflict and defining new roles than others.

Another theoretical assumption concerning the ways in which roles are negotiated was found in the Sutcliffe and Haberman article which related reliance on universalistic responses to the presence of strong social sanctions (1956). It is generally accepted that the Catholic church sanctions divorce more severely than do the Protestant denominations. Many studies indicate that the divorce rate is lower for Catholics than it is for Protestants (Bumpass & Sweet, 1972). Goode (1965, p. 157) found that Catholics were more likely to receive marital counseling prior to the final decree and he relates this behavior to the stronger sanctions proscribing divorce experienced by Catholics. The finding that Catholics were more likely than Protestants to use third party intervention in making visiting arrangements reflects both theoretical and empirical findings.

New Areas for Study and Investigation

As can be expected in an exploratory study more questions are developed than answers. In addition to the development of a new hypothesis for testing, the following additional issues have been identified for further study.

Implicit in this study has been the suggestion that the observed decrease in visiting frequency is caused by the assumption

of new marital roles. Four intervening variables have been identified and discussed but there is little information to assist in determining the causal relationships among them. Another significant variable that was ignored was the age of the children. Weiss (1975, pp. 193-194) points out that children of different ages present different practical problems in visiting as well as different emotional needs. Very young children and adolescents, for diverse reasons, may find frequent visits neither helpful nor desired. Further exploration of these variables could lead to a predictive paradigm encompassing all of them and indicating the relative effect of each on visiting behavior.

While the relationship between continuity of support and visitation has been established both logically and empirically the causal sequence still remains unknown. Do men quit making support payments because they are not permitted to visit or do ex-wives or courts cut off visiting because support payments are not made? In an interview with Gene Eanes, Chief of the Support Division of the State Attorney's Office (Ninth Judicial Circuit, Orlando, Florida) on March 22, 1979, the opinion was given that denial of visiting privileges was often the cause of stopped payments and abandonment. A fuller understanding of this relationship is imperative if issues of social policy concerning nonsupport are going to be intelligently formulated.

The study has introduced the question of the relationship between the natural father and the stepfather. Not only was

ambivalence noted regarding the sharing of responsibility but the speculative and real life interpretations differed very little. In addition to questions of shared responsibility, questions also arise over the affect the introduction of a stepfather has on the natural father's concerns over loss of affection, confidence that his children are well cared for, the influence of someone with a different set of values and satisfaction with the father role. Other questions arise over the negotiation of shared roles and the part the ex-wife plays in that process.

The current wife emerges as somewhat of an unsung heroine. Rather than the wicked stepmother of folklore, interest and involvement with the stepchild and increased financial support were demonstrated. Were it not for Cassetty's findings indicating increased amounts of support after the father's remarriage, the conclusions of sample bias would be the likely explanation (1978). A whole new area of investigation is indicated if stepmother motivation and its effect on the continuing father-child relationship are to be understood.

Religion has been identified as a potentially significant variable in both the divorce process and post-divorce paternal roles. Catholics visited more frequently than Protestants at all marital statuses. They were more likely to use third parties to negotiate roles and less likely to have custody or have a child living with them. Since these differences cannot be attributed to social class, religion needs to be considered an important predictor of parental response to divorce.

In summary, several valuable contributions have been made to the limited body of knowledge about post-divorce relationships. First has been the identification of significant variables related to visiting frequency. Second has been the addition of quantitative data to some of the qualitative observations of Weiss (1975). Third has been the identification of some of the significant relationships in the divorce chain which need further examination.

APPENDIX A

ORIGINAL LETTER TO RESPONDENTS

APPENDIX A

ORIGINAL LETTER TO RESPONDENTS

Mr. John Doe
Post Office Box 0000
Florida

Dear Mr. Doe:

The Office of Graduate Studies and Research is sponsoring a research project directed by Walter D. Tropf, a University of Central Florida faculty member in the Sociology Department. This project is aimed at understanding the difficulties divorced men have in visiting and supporting their children by their first marriage.

Your name was obtained from the county marriage license applications which were registered between October, 1977 and May, 1978. You were selected solely because your application indicated that you were previously married and between the ages of 25 and 45 and therefor, most likely to have had children by your first marriage.

We hope that you will agree to participate in the study and furnish us with information about the experiences you have had as a father separated from his children. The names of participants will not appear in any published reports.

Some time in the next few weeks you will be contacted by a University of Central Florida research assistant under the direction

of Mr. Tropf. The assistant will make an appoinment with you at your convenience. The interview is comprehensive and will last about an hour. I hope that you will be able to participate in this research project which the University feels is of important social significance.

Sincerely,

Frank E. Juge, Ph.D.
Acting Associate Vice
President and Dean

FEJ: pjm

APPENDIX B

MODIFIED LETTER TO RESPONDENTS

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Sincerely,

Frank E. Juge, Ph.D.
Acting Associate Vice
President and Dean

FEJ: pjm

P.S. If this letter was forwarded to you, or if you have changed your phone number, we will not be able to reach you. If you live in the area and wish to participate in the study you may call Mr. Tropf at 275-2227 during office hours and he will arrange to have a research assistant meet with you. If he is not in when you call, leave word and he will return your call.

APPENDIX C

QUESTIONNAIRE

THE NATURE AND THE EXTENT

OF THE

RELATIONSHIPS DIVORCED MEN MAINTAIN

WITH THEIR FIRST FAMILIES.

Case Number _____

Date of Interview _____ _____ _____
Day Month Year

Time Began _____ Time Finished _____

Interviewer _____ Number _____

Walter D. Tropf, MSW

University of Central Florida

Department of Sociology

Post Office Box 25000

Orlando, FL 32816

(305) 275-2227

SECTION I: MARITAL AND FAMILY INFORMATION

FIRST WE NEED TO GET SOME INFORMATION ABOUT YOUR MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE DATES, AND THEN SOME INFORMATION ABOUT THE MEMBERS OF YOUR FAMILY AT THIS TIME.

1. WHAT ARE THE DATES OF YOUR:

First Marriage _____ (MO.), _____ (YR.). Divorce _____ (MO.), _____ (YR.).

Last separation before divorce _____ (MO.), _____ (YR.).

Present marriage _____ (MO.), _____ (YR.).

2. ARE YOU PRESENTLY:

(1) Married _____; (2) Separated _____; (3) Divorced _____.

If separated or divorced, give date. _____ (MO.), _____ (YR.).

3. HAS YOUR EX-WIFE RE-MARRIED? (1) Yes _____; (2) No _____.

If yes, WHEN? _____ (MO.), _____ (YR.).

4. IS SHE STILL RE-MARRIED? (1) Yes _____: (2) No_____.

SEPARATED? (1) Yes _____; (2) No _____.

DIVORCED? (1) Yes _____; (2) No _____.

(If separated or divorced, give date) _____ (MO.), _____ (YR.).

(If there has been more than one re-marriage and divorce for ex-wife, try to get details and put in space below.)

5. NOW WE NEED THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION ABOUT YOUR CHILDREN FROM YOUR FIRST MARRIAGE --- SEX? --- AGE? --- CUSTODY? --- LIVING ARRANGEMENT?
(At the present time)

(1) Boys	Ages	Custody (1)Mo.	Custody (2)Fth.	Custody (3) Other	Living Arrangement (1)Mo.	Living Arrangement (2)Fth.	Living Arrangement (3) Other

(2) Girls	Ages	(1)Mo.	(2)Fth.	(3) Other	(1)Mo.	(2)Fth.	(3) Other

6. WE KNOW THAT DIVORCED MEN SOMETIMES HAVE TO MAKE OTHER ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE CARE OF THEIR CHILDREN. HAVE ANY OF YOUR CHILDREN BEEN ADOPTED BY SOMEONE ELSE? (1) Yes ____; (2) No ____.

** If answer is Yes, find out which ones were surrendered and note in space below. If all were, finish this section and proceed to page 12 (Section IV, question 1-6) and page 20, Section VI. If only some were, proceed as usual.

7. NOW WE NEED THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION ABOUT YOUR STEP-CHILDREN BY YOUR PRESENT MARRIAGE--- SEX? --- AGE? --- CUSTODY? --- LIVING ARRANGEMENT? (At the present time)

			Custody			Living Arrangement		
(1)	Boys	Ages	(1)Mo.	(2)Fth.	(3)Other	(1)Mo.	(2)Fth.	(3)Other
		___						
		___						
		___						
		___						
		___						

			Custody			Living Arrangement		
(2)	Girls	Ages	(1)Mo	(2)Fth.	(3)Other	(1)Mo.	(2)Fth.	(3)Other
		___						
		___						
		___						
		___						
		___						

8. DOES YOUR PRESENT WIFE RECEIVE MONEY FOR THE SUPPORT OF HER CHILDREN THROUGH ANY OF THE FOLLOWING?

Social Security? (1)Yes___; (2)No___. V.A? (1)Yes___; (2)No___.

Support Payments? (1)Yes___; (2)No___. Other? (1)Yes___; (No)___.

Explain _____

9. ARE SUPPORT PAYMENTS USUALLY ON TIME AND PAID IN FULL?

	(1)On Time	(2)Late	(3)Missed Occasionally	(4)Missed a lot
Full				
Partial				

10. HOW OFTEN DOES THE FATHER OF YOUR STEP-CHILDREN SEND GIFTS FOR HOLIDAYS AND BIRTHDAYS?

(1)Regularly___; (2)Usually___; (3)About half the time___;

(4)Seldom___; (5)Never___.

11. HOW OFTEN DOES THEIR OWN FATHER VISIT THEM? --- WRITE? --- PHONE?

	Before Your Present Marriage			Before Your Present Marriage		
	Visit	Mail	Phone	Visit	Mail	Phone
(1) Daily						
(2) Weekly						
(3) Twice/Month						
(4) Monthly						
(5) Four/Year						
(6) Hol.-B'day						
(7) Yearly						
(8) Less						
(9) Never						

12. HOW MANY CHILDREN DO YOU AND YOUR WIFE HAVE BY YOUR PRESENT MARRIAGE?

(1)Boys___; ___; ___. (2)Girls___; ___; ___. (3)None___.
Age Age Age Age Age Age

13. WITH WHOM ARE THEY LIVING?

(1) With us___; (2)With Me___; (3)With My Wife___;

(4) Other_____
(Explain)

SECTION II: VISITATION

IN THIS NEXT SECTION WE WILL ASK YOU ABOUT HOW OFTEN YOU ARE ABLE TO HAVE VISITS AND OTHER CONTACTS WITH YOUR OWN CHILDREN. WE WILL ALSO BE LOOKING AT HOW THESE MAY HAVE CHANGED FROM THE TIME OF YOUR SEPARATION UNTIL NOW.

1. AT THE PRESENT TIME, HOW FAR AWAY FROM YOUR CHILDREN DO YOU LIVE?

____ (1) Less than 50 miles ____ (3) Between 151 and 300 miles

____ (2) Between 51 and 150 miles ____ (4) Over 301 miles

2. HAVE EITHER YOU OR YOUR EX-WIFE MOVED FAR ENOUGH AWAY FROM EACH OTHER TO EFFECT YOUR VISITING OPPORTUNITIES?

(1) Yes ___; (2) No ___.

(If NO, proceed to Question 3, if YES, find out who moved ---)

(1) Subject ___; (2) Ex-Wife___.

(If subject moved, ask),

WHAT WERE YOUR REASONS FOR MOVING? (If subject gives more than one reason, rank them in order of importance)

____ Put distance between self and ex-wife

____ Job opportunity

____ To be near family

____ To improve chances for re-marriage

____ Seeking change of life-style

____ Other_____
(Explain)

3. HAVE VISITS EVER TAKEN PLACE IN YOUR EX-WIFE'S HOME?

(1) Yes___; (2) No___.

(If answer is yes, find out if these occurred),

____ Between separation and divorce

____ After divorce

____ After his re-marriage

____ After her re-marriage

____ Other circumstances_____
(Explain)

4. WE WOULD LIKE TO KNOW HOW MUCH YOU AND YOUR CHILDREN VISIT TOGETHER AND HOW THIS MAY HAVE CHANGED OVER A PERIOD OF TIME. HOW MUCH DID YOU VISIT YOUR CHILDREN -- BETWEEN THE SEPARATION AND THE DIVORCE? -- AFTER THE DIVORCE? -- AFTER YOUR RE-MARRIAGE? -- AFTER YOUR EX-WIFE'S RE-MARRIAGE? -- OTHER? (Probe for such other events as geographic moves, children growing older, court orders, pressures from own family or in-laws, etc.)

BETWEEN SEPARATION AND DIVORCE

	D	W	B/W	M	4Y	H/B	YR	L	N
Two hrs. or less									
Half-day									
All day									
Overnight/ Weekend									
Week or more									

AFTER DIVORCE

	D	W	B/W	M	4Y	H/B	YR	L	N
Two hrs. or less									
Half-day									
All day									
Overnight/ Weekend									
Week or more									

AFTER HIS RE-MARRIAGE

	D	W	B/W	M	4Y	H/B	YR	L	N
Two hrs. or less									
Half-day									
All day									
Overnight/ Weekend									
Week or more									

AFTER HIS RE-MARRIAGE

	D	W	B/W	M	4Y	H/B	YR	L	N
Two hrs. or less									
Half-day									
All day									
Overnight/ Weekend									
Week or more									

OTHER_____ (Explain)

	D	W	B/W	M	4Y	H/B	YR	L	N
Two hrs. or less									
Half-day									
All day									
Overnight/ Weekend									
Week or more									

OTHER_____ (Explain)

	D	W	B/W	M	4Y	H/B	YR	L	N
Two hrs. or less									
Half-day									
All day									
Overnight/ Weekend									
Week or more									

KEY: D=Daily; W=Weekly; B/W=2 per month; M=Monthly; 4Y=4 per year; H/B=Holiday/Birthday; YR=Yearly; L=less; N=Never.

5. HOW OFTEN DO YOU HAVE CONTACT WITH YOUR CHILDREN BY MAIL OR TELEPHONE --- BETWEEN THE SEPARATION AND THE DIVORCE? --- AFTER THE DIVORCE? --- AFTER YOUR RE-MARRIAGE? --- AFTER YOUR EX-WIFE'S RE-MARRIAGE? --- OTHER? (Probe)

BETWEEN SEPARATION & DIVORCE

	D	W	B/W	M	4Y	H/B	YR	L	N
Mail									
Phone									

AFTER DIVORCE

	D	W	B/W	M	4Y	H/B	YR	L	N
Mail									
Phone									

AFTER YOUR RE-MARRIAGE

	D	W	B/W	M	4Y	H/B	YR	L	N
Mail									
Phone									

AFTER EX-WIFE'S RE-MARRIAGE

	D	W	B/W	M	4Y	H/B	YR	L	N
Mail									
Phone									

OTHER _____ (Explain)

OTHER _____ (Explain)

	D	W	B/W	M	4Y	H/B	YR	L	N
Mail									
Phone									

	D	W	B/W	M	4Y	H/B	YR	L	N
Mail									
Phone									

SECTION III: CHILD SUPPORT

NOW WE WOULD LIKE TO ASK SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT CHILD SUPPORT.

(If subject indicates that he has never paid child support, just ask question 1, then skip to page 12, Section IV, but skip question #8.)

1. HOW WERE ARRANGEMENTS MADE FOR CHILD SUPPORT AT THE TIME OF THE DIVORCE?

___ (1) Court order, against my wishes or without my knowledge

___ (2) Court order, against her wishes or without her knowledge

___ (3) Court order, compromise arranged by attorney or other third party

___ (4) Court order, with mutual agreement beforehand

___ (5) Mutual agreement, without court order

___ (6) Other_____
(Explain)

2. IF CHILD SUPPORT ARRANGEMENTS HAVE BEEN CHANGED, HOW WERE THE CHANGES ARRANGED?

___ (1) It has not changed (if no change, go to question #4

___ (2) Court order, at my request

___ (3) Court order, at her request

___ (4) Mutual agreement, leaving court order unchanged

___ (5) Other _____
(Explain)

3. WHY WAS A CHANGE MADE?

___ (1) My re-marriage

___ (2) Her re-marriage

___ (3) I had evidence money was not being spent on the children

___ (4) I picked up on other expenses besides child support

_____
(Explain)

___ (5) Other _____
(Explain)

4. WE KNOW THAT THE ABILITY TO MAKE SUPPORT PAYMENTS CAN BE EFFECTED BY A WIDE VARIETY OF CIRCUMSTANCES. HAVE YOU EVER STOPPED MAKING PAYMENTS FOR LONGER THAN THREE MONTHS AT A TIME? (1) Yes___; (2) No ___. (If yes, find out the reason and when this occurred.)

5. HAVE YOU EVER MISSED A PAYMENT OR BEEN MORE THAN TWO WEEKS LATE OR MADE ONLY PARTIAL PAYMENTS? (1) Yes ___; (2) No ___. (If yes, find out how often and the reason.)

	Reason_____		Reason_____		Reason_____	
	Once	A few times	Once	A few times	Once	A few times
(1) One Month						
(2) Two Months						
(3) Three Months						

6. WERE THESE PAYMENTS EVER MADE UP? (1) Yes ___; (2) No ___

7. UNDER WHAT CIRCUMSTANCES HAVE YOU EVER BEEN REQUESTED TO SEND EXTRA MONEY TO YOUR CHILDREN --- BETWEEN SEPARATION AND DIVORCE? --- AFTER DIVORCE? --- AFTER YOUR RE-MARRIAGE? AFTER HER RE-MARRIAGE? --- OTHER?

	BETWEEN SEPARATION AND DIVORCE		AFTER DIVORCE	
	Child's Request	Ex-wife's Request	Child's Request	Ex-wife's Request
(1) Always				
(2) Sometimes refuse				
(3) Sometimes can't				
(4) Never				

	AFTER YOUR RE-MARRIAGE		AFTER HER RE-MARRIAGE	
	Child's Request	Ex-wife's Request	Child's Request	Ex-wife's Request
(1) Always				
(2) Sometimes refuse				
(3) Sometimes can't				
(4) Never				

OTHER _____ (Explain) _____ (Explain)

	Child's Request	Ex-wife's Request	Child's Request	Ex-wife's Request
(1) Always				
(2) Sometimes refuse				
(3) Sometimes can't				
(4) Never				

8. HOW OFTEN DO YOU VOLUNTARILY SEND MONEY OR GIFTS TO YOUR CHILDREN?

___ (1) Five or less times a year, not counting holidays and birthdays

___ (2) Six or more times a year, not counting holidays and birthdays

___ (3) Holidays and birthdays only

___ (4) Never

9. WHAT KINDS OF INSURANCE DO YOU CARRY ON YOUR CHILDREN?

___ (1) None

___ (2) Life insurance on them

___ (3) They are beneficiaries on my life insurance

___ (4) Hospitalization or other health insurance

___ (5) Other_____
(Explain)

10. DO YOU KEEP ANY SAVINGS ACCOUNT FOR YOUR CHILDREN? (1) Yes___; (2) No ___.

SECTION IV: RELATIONSHIP WITH EX-WIFE AND HER FAMILY

IN THIS SECTION WE WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU ABOUT YOUR RELATIONSHIP WITH YOUR EX-WIFE AND HER PARENTS. WE ARE PARTICULARLY INTERESTED IN HOW MUCH YOU AGREE OR DISAGREE ABOUT THE CHILDREN.

1. TO WHAT EXTENT WAS DISAGREEMENT OVER CHILD REARING PRACTICES A CAUSE OF THE DIVORCE? (Be sure and inquire about each of the areas in the lefthand column.)

	A Major Issue	A Major Issue	Not An Issue
(1) SUPPORT OF THE CHILDREN			
(2) MORAL AND RELIGIOUS VALUES			
(3) YOUR ROLE IN GIVING ADVICE			
(4) YOUR ROLE IN DISCIPLINE			
(5) YOUR ROLE AS PROTECTOR OF THEIR SAFETY			

2. HOW WERE VISITATION RIGHTS DETERMINED AT THE TIME OF THE DIVORCE?

___ (1) Court order, against my wishes or without my knowledge

___ (2) Court order, against her wishes or without her knowledge

___ (3) Court order, compromise arranged by attorney or other third party

___ (4) Court order, with mutual agreement beforehand

___ (5) Mutual agreement, without court order

___ (6) Other_____
(Explain)

3. IF THIS WAS CHANGED, HOW WAS THE CHANGE ARRANGED?

___ (1) It has not changed

___ (2) Court order, at my request

___ (3) Court order, at her request

___ (4) Court order, but by mutual agreement

___ (5) Mutual agreement, leaving court order unchanged

___ (6) Other_____
(Explain)

4. AT THE TIME OF THE DIVORCE, WHEN YOU AND YOUR EX-WIFE HAD CONTACTS, WHAT DID YOU TALK ABOUT AND HOW DID YOU GET ALONG?

	UA	Comp	Fight	I-Ref	S-Ref	Avoid	N.D.
Visitation							
Child Support							
Children							
Health							
School or behavior problems							
Good News							
Herself							
Personal Problems							
HH Management							
Problems from the past							
Mutual friends or relatives							
*Other Financial							

Other _____
(Explain)

* Note: (See next page)

5. AT THE PRESENT TIME, WHEN YOU AND YOUR EX-WIFE HAVE CONTACT, WHAT DO YOU TALK ABOUT AND HOW DO YOU GET ALONG?

	UA	Comp	Fight	I-Ref	S-ref	Avoid	N.D	Reas
Visitation								
Child Support								
Children								
Health								
School or behavior problems								
Good news								
Herself								
Personal problems								
HH Management								
Problems from the past								
Mutual friends or relatives								
*Other Financial								

Other _____
(Explain)

*Note: (If subject indicates they have financial ties, co-own property, or business, or stocks, etc., be sure to note and what that tie is in the space below).

Key: UA= Usually agree; Comp=Compromise; Fight=Fight; I-Ref=I refused to discuss; S-Ref=She refused to discuss; Avoid=Topic was avoided; N.D.=No reason to discuss; and, Reas=Reason for the change.

6. OVERALL, HOW WOULD YOU DESCRIBE YOUR RELATIONSHIP WITH YOUR EX-WIFE AT THE TIME OF THE DIVORCE? --- NOW?

	At Divorce	Now	Reason for change
(1) Antagonistic			
(2) Unfriendly			
(3) Neutral			
(4) Some friendly			
(5) Good friends			
(6) Other			

(Explain)

7. DO YOU FEEL THAT YOUR EX-WIFE OPPOSED OR SUPPORTED YOUR RELATIONSHIP WITH THE CHILDREN AT THE TIME OF THE DIVORCE? --- NOW?

	At Divorce	Now	Reason for change
(1) Strongly opposed			
(2) Some opposed			
(3) Neutral			
(4) Some support			
(5) Strongly support			

8. DO YOU FEEL THAT THE MONEY YOU SEND FOR YOUR CHILDREN'S SUPPORT IS SPENT FOR THEM?

___ (1) I am sure that it is not

___ (2) Sometimes I wonder

___ (3) I have no reason to worry

___ (4) I know it is well spent

___ (5) Other _____

(Explain)

9. WHAT KIND OF INFORMATION DO YOU BASE THIS FEELING ON?

___ (1) What children tell me, or from their appearance

___ (2) What relatives or friends tell me

___ (3) My previous knowledge of her spending patterns

___ (4) No information, I just feel this way

___ (5) Other_____
(Explain)

10. HOW MUCH CONTACT DID YOU HAVE WITH THE CHILDREN'S MATERNAL GRANDPARENTS AT THE TIME OF THE DIVORCE? --- NOW?

	At Divorce	Now	Reason for change
(1) Weekly, or more			
(2) 2 per month			
(3) 2-3 per year			
(4) Hardly ever			
(5) Never			

11. WHO USUALLY INITIATES THE CONTACTS?

___ (1) I do

___ (2) Ex-wife

___ (3) Children do

___ (4) In-laws

___ (5) Family occasions

___ (6) Other_____
(Explain)

12. WHAT IS THE NATURE OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN YOU AND YOUR EX-IN-LAWS?

___ (1) Very friendly, we like each other

___ (2) Mostly friendly

___ (3) Just O.K.

___ (4) Neutral

___ (5) Antagonistic

*If the subject has neither visited or supported his children since before his re-marriage, go to page __, (Section VI) and ask questions #3, 4, 5, and 6 only. If he visits or supports, either one, proceed as usual. Then do Section VII, p. __.

SECTION V: PRESENT FAMILY

NOW WE WANT TO ASK YOU SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT YOUR PRESENT FAMILY. WE KNOW THAT TRYING TO BE A FATHER TO TWO SETS OF CHILDREN CAN BE VERY DEMANDING FOR EVERYONE --- ESPECIALLY WHEN TIME AND MONEY FOR EVERYTHING IS IN SHORT SUPPLY.

1. CAN YOU TELL US HOW YOUR PRESENT WIFE FEELS ABOUT THE TIME YOU SPEND WITH YOUR CHILDREN? --- THE MONEY YOU SPEND ON YOUR CHILDREN? --- THE CONTACTS YOU HAVE WITH YOUR EX-WIFE? ALSO, WE'D LIKE TO KNOW HOW THESE MAY HAVE CHANGED BETWEEN WHEN YOU FIRST MARRIED AND NOW.

	TIME		MONEY		EX-WIFE		REASON FOR CHANGE
	Then	Now	Then	Now	Then	Now	
(1) Usually resentful							
(2) Sometimes resentful							
(3) Not sure							
(4) Seems to accept							
(5) Encourages							
(6) Other							

(Explain)

2. CAN YOU TELL US HOW YOUR STEP-CHILDREN FEEL ABOUT --- THE ATTENTION YOU GIVE YOUR OWN CHILDREN? --- THE MONEY YOU SPEND ON YOUR OWN CHILDREN? ALSO, HOW THIS CHANGED SINCE YOU WERE FIRST MARRIED?

	ATTENTION		MONEY		REASON FOR CHANGE
	Then	Now	Then	Now	
(1) Usually resentful					
(2) Sometimes resentful					
(3) Not sure					
(4) Seem to accept					
(5) Encourages					
(6) Other					

(Explain)

3. HOW INVOLVED DOES YOUR PRESENT WIFE BECOME IN THE CONTACTS YOU HAVE WITH YOUR CHILDREN?

___ (1) She is very interested and becomes involved as much as possible

___ (2) She is interested, but does not become involved

___ (3) She is neutral and only becomes involved when necessary

___ (4) She dislikes the situation and avoids involvement as much as possible

___ (5) She dislikes my children

___ (6) Other _____

(Explain)

4. HAVE YOU EVER BEEN IN SITUATIONS WHERE CHILDREN FROM BOTH FAMILIES MAKE DEMANDS ON YOU AT THE SAME TIME? FOR EXAMPLE, A CHILD FROM EACH FAMILY WANTS YOU TO ATTEND AN IMPORTANT SCHOOL OF SPORTS EVENT AT THE SAME TIME, OR BOTH SETS OF CHILDREN WANT YOU TO SPEND CHRISTMAS DAY WITH THEM.

___ (1) This has never happened. (if it has never happened, skip question #5.)

___ (2) This only happened once

___ (3) This has happened a few times

___ (4) This happens often

5. IF SUCH SITUATIONS HAVE HAPPENED, HOW ARE THEY RESOLVED?

SECTION VI: THE FATHER ROLE

THESE QUESTIONS HAVE TO DO WITH YOUR FEELINGS ABOUT THE PROPER ROLE OF A FATHER AND HOW YOUR ROLE HAS BEEN EFFECTED BY THE DIVORCE.

1. SINCE YOUR DIVORCE HAVE YOU BEEN SATISFIED WITH:

   A. THE WAY IN WHICH YOU HAVE BEEN ABLE TO FINANCIALLY SUPPORT YOUR CHILDREN?
   B. THE INFLUENCE YOU HAVE HAD ON THEIR MORAL AND RELIGIOUS VALUES?
   C. YOUR ROLE IN GIVING ADVICE?
   D. YOUR ABILITY TO DISCIPLINE THEM?
   E. YOUR ABILITY TO PROTECT THEM?

	(1) Very Sat.	(2) Usually Sat.	(3) Usually Dissat.	(4) Very Dissat.
A. Support				
B. Values				
C. Advice				
D. Discipline				
E. Protection				

(If ex-wife has never re-married, skip Question #2, but be sure to ask question #3.)

2. ARE YOU SATISFIED WITH THE EFFORTS OF YOUR CHILDREN'S STEP-FATHER IN THESE AREAS?

   A. THE WAY IN WHICH HE HAS BEEN ABLE TO FINANCIALLY SUPPORT YOUR CHILDREN?
   B. THE INFLUENCE HE HAS ON THEIR MORAL AND RELIGIOUS VALUES?
   C. HIS ROLE IN GIVING ADVICE?
   D. HIS ABILITY TO DISCIPLINE THEM?
   E. HIS ABILITY TO PROTECT THEM?

	(1) Very Sat.	(2) Usually Sat.	(3) Usually Dissat.	(4) Very Dissat.
A. Support				
B. Values				
C. Advice				
D. Discipline				
E. Protection				

3. SOMETIMES THE FATHER ROLE IS SHARED BETWEEN THE NATURAL FATHER AND THE STEP-FATHER. WHEN THIS HAPPENS, WHO DO YOU THINK SHOULD HAVE THE MOST RESPONSIBILITY IN THESE AREAS?

	(1) S-F Exclusive	(2) S-F Most	(3) Equal	(4) N-F Most	(5) N-F Exclusive
A. Support					
B. Values					
C. Advice					
D. Discipline					
E. Protection					

4. DO YOU FIND IT DIFFICULT TO HAVE VISITS OR OTHER CONTACTS WITH YOUR CHILDREN BECAUSE IT IS SO HARD TO SAY "GOOD-BYE"?

___ (1) I avoid seeing them for this reason

___ (2) I sometimes have avoided seeing them for this reason

___ (3) It is difficult, but I see them as much as possible

___ (4) It used to be difficult, but I am used to it

___ (5) It was never any problem

___ (6) Other _____
(Explain)

5. WE KNOW THAT SOME FATHERS GIVE UP THEIR CHILDREN FOR ADOPTION. HAVE YOU EVER THOUGHT IT MIGHT BE BETTER FOR YOU OR YOUR CHILDREN IF YOU WOULD STEP OUT OF THEIR LIVES AND NEVER SEE THEM AGAIN?

	For Self	For Children
(1) I am giving it serious consideration		
(2) I think about it often		
(3) It occurs to me now and then		
(4) I used to think so, but not anymore		
(5) I never considered it		
(6) Other _____ (Explain)		

6. HAS ANYONE EVER ASKED YOU TO STOP VISITING YOUR CHILDREN?

(1) Yes ___; (2) No ___. If Yes, by whom?

___ (1) Ex-wife

___ (2) Present wife

___ (3) Children's stepfather

___ (4) Ex-in-laws

___ (5) The children

___ (6) Other_____
(Explain)

7. HAVE YOU EVER BEEN ASKED TO SURRENDER YOUR CHILDREN FOR ADOPTION?

(1) Yes ___; (2) No ___. (If Yes, by whom)

___ (1) Ex-wife

___ (2) Present wife

___ (3) Children's stepfather

___ (4) Ex-in-laws

___ (5) The children

___ (6) Other_____
(Explain)

8. OVERALL, GIVEN THE FACT THAT YOU HAVE BEEN SEPARATED FROM YOUR CHILDREN ALL OR PART OF THE TIME SINCE YOUR DIVORCE, HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT THE PART YOU HAVE BEEN ABLE TO PLAY IN THEIR LIVES?

___ (1) Very satisfied

___ (2) Reasonably satisfied

___ (3) There are some changes that would have to be made before I would be satisfied

___ (4) Mostly dissatisfied

___ (5) Very dissatisfied

___ (6) Other_____
(Explain)

SECTION VII: DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

WE ARE ALMOST FINISHED BUT WE NEED TO ASK A FEW QUESTIONS WHICH SOMETIMES HELP US UNDERSTAND THE DIFFERENCES IN HOW PEOPLE REACT TO SITUATIONS. THEN WE WILL GIVE YOU AN OPPORTUNITY TO TELL US ANYTHING ELSE ABOUT BEING A DIVORCED FATHER WHICH WE MAY NOT HAVE COVERED IN OUR QUESTIONS.

1. WHAT IS YOUR AGE? ____. RACE? (1)Caucasian ____; (2) Black ____; (3) Spanish ____; (4) Other _____.

2. WHAT IS YOUR RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE? (1) Protestant ____; (2) Catholic: (3) Jewish ____; (4) Other ____.

3. WHAT IS YOUR HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATION?
   ___ Less than seven years of school
   ___ 7-9 years of school
   ___ 10-11 years of high school
   ___ High school graduate
   ___ Some college or business school
   ___ Four year college degree
   ___ Graduate degree

4. WHAT KIND OF WORK DO YOU DO? (Do not ask for name of company, but if volunteered, write it down)

   Job Title_____

   What do you do?_____

   Do you manage or supervise anyone?_____
   (Explain)

   Name of Company_____

5. NOW, IS THERE ANYTHING ELSE YOU WOULD LIKE US TO KNOW ABOUT?

APPENDIX D

DESCRIPTION OF RESPONDENTS BY SELECTED VARIABLES

TABLE 21

DESCRIPTION OF RESPONDENTS BY SELECTED VARIABLES

Variables	N
Age	
25 or under	3
26 to 30	13
31 to 35	25
36 to 40	27
41 to 45	18
46 to 50	11
50 and over	2
Total	99
Race	
Caucasian	96
Black	4
Spanish-American	1
Total	101
Religion	
Protestant	60
Catholic	24
Jewish	2
Nonaffiliation and other	13
Total	99
Social Class	
Class I	9
Class II	31
Class III	48
Class IV	10
Class V	1
Total	99

TABLE 21 (Continued)

Variables	N
Education	
Less than high school	2
High school graduate	20
Some college	41
College graduate	21
Graduate degree	14
Total	98
Length of Time Between Divorce and Interview	
Less than one year	10
1 year	15
2 years	13
3 years	13
4 years	10
5 years	5
6 years	10
7 years	4
8 years	5
9 years	4
10 or more years	12
Total	101
Length of First Marriage	
Less than one year	1
1 to 2 years	6
3 to 4 years	7
5 to 6 years	13
7 to 8 years	16
9 to 10 years	11
11 to 12 years	13
13 to 14 years	7
15 to 16 years	12
17 to 18 years	6
19 or more	8
Total	100

TABLE 21 (Continued)

Variables	N
Current Marital Status	
Not remarried	25
Intact second marriage	66
Second marriage but separated	2
Second divorce	8
Total	101
Current Marital Status of Ex-Wife	
Not remarried	50
Intact second marriage	35
Second divorce	10
Not known	4
Total	99
Distance Separating Fathers and Children	
50 miles or less	46
51 to 150 miles	6
151 to 300 miles	5
Over 300 miles	32
Total	99
Respondents with Stepchildren in the Home	24
Respondents with Children by Second Marriage	14
Respondents with Own Children Living with Them	21
Respondents with Custody	19

APPENDIX E

DATA CONCERNING DURATION AND FREQUENCY OF VISITS

TABLE 22

NUMBER OF FATHERS VISITING THEIR CHILDREN FOLLOWING SEPARATION BY DURATION AND FREQUENCY

Frequency of Visits	Duration of Visit: Less Than Two Hours	One-Half Day	All Day	Overnight	Week or More	Total	
Daily	10	2	1	0	1	(16.2)	14
Weekly	4	10	10	15	0	(44.8)	39
Bi-weekly	1	1	2	9	1	(16.1)	14
Monthly	1	0	1	3	1	(6.9)	6
Quarterly	1	0	0	1	1	(3.4)	3
Holiday-Birthday	0	1	1	1	0	(3.4)	3
Yearly	1	0	0	0	5	(6.9)	6
Less Than Yearly	1	0	0	0	1	(2.3)	2
TOTALS	16 (21.8)	14 (16.1)	15 (17.2)	29 (33.3)	10 (8.7)		87 (100.0)

TABLE 23

NUMBER OF FATHERS VISITING THEIR CHILDREN FOLLOWING DIVORCE
BY DURATION AND FREQUENCY

Frequency of Visits	Duration of Visit: Less Than Two Hours	One-Half Day	All Day	Overnight	Week or More	Total	
Daily	5	1	0	0	0	(6.2)	4
Weekly	4	7	8	17	0	(37.1)	36
Bi-weekly	3	0	1	16	1	(21.6)	21
Monthly	2	1	1	4	1	(9.3)	9
Quarterly	0	1	1	0	3	(5.2)	5
Holiday-Birthday	0	0	3	3	0	(6.2)	6
Yearly	1	0	0	1	8	(9.7)	10
Less Than Yearly	1	0	0	0	3	(4.1)	4
TOTALS	16 (16.5)	10 (9.7)	14 (14.4)	41 (42.3)	16 (16.5)	(100.0)	97

TABLE 24

NUMBER OF FATHERS VISITING THEIR CHILDREN FOLLOWING OWN REMARRIAGE BY DURATION AND FREQUENCY

Frequency of Visits	Duration of Visit: Less Than Two Hours	One-Half Day	All Day	Overnight	Week or More	Total	
Daily	0	1	0	0	0	(1.7)	1
Weekly	0	3	3	9	0	(25.4)	15
Bi-weekly	0	2	2	7	1	(23.0)	12
Monthly	1	1	1	3	0	(10.2)	6
Quarterly	0	1	2	3	2	(13.6)	8
Holiday-Birthday	0	1	1	2	2	(10.2)	6
Yearly	1	0	0	0	8	(15.3)	9
Less Than Yearly	0	0	0	0	2	(3.4)	2
TOTALS	2 (3.4)	9 (15.3)	9 (40.7)	24 (25.4)	15 (16.5)	(100.0)	59

TABLE 25

NUMBER OF FATHERS VISITING THEIR CHILDREN FOLLOWING REMARRIAGE OF EX-SPOUSE BY DURATION AND FREQUENCY

Frequency of Visits	Duration of Visit: Less Than Two Hours	One-Half Day	All Day	Overnight	Week or More	Total	
Daily	0	0	0	0	0		
Weekly	0	1	1	6	0	(25.8)	8
Bi-weekly	0	0	0	5	1	(19.4)	6
Monthly	0	1	0	1	0	(6.5)	2
Quarterly	0	0	2	2	1	(16.1)	5
Holiday-Birthday	0	0	2	1	0	(9.7)	3
Yearly	0	0	0	0	3	(9.7)	3
Less Than Yearly	1	0	0	0	3	(12.9)	4
TOTALS	1 (3.2)	2 (6.5)	5 (16.1)	15 (48.4)	8 (25.8)	(100.0)	31

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BIOGRAPHY

Walter David Tropf was born in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1927. He married Annabelle Stange in Toledo, Ohio, in 1954. They currently reside in DeBary, Florida, where they have lived since 1963. They have three grown children. The eldest, Judi Alexander, is a restaurant manager in Palm Beach, Florida. Ralph, who is an actor, is also living in DeBary and Bessie, the youngest, is a student at the University of Florida in Gainesville.

Tropf graduated from East Technical High School in Cleveland in 1946. He spent one year in the U.S. Army and then enrolled as a freshman at Case-Western Reserve University in Cleveland. After one year he transferred to Taylor University in Upland, Indiana. He graduated from there with a B.A. in sociology in 1951. He began graduate studies at the University of Michigan School of Social Work in 1957 and received his M.S.W. degree in 1959. Doctoral studies in sociology were begun at the University of Florida in 1976 and he received his Ph.D. in 1980.

He began his professional career in 1951 as a program secretary for the Central Branch YMCA in Toledo. After two years he began working as a social caseworker for the Lucas County Welfare Department in Toledo and then for the Lucas County Child Welfare Board. Shortly after receiving his M.S.W. he moved to Akron, Ohio, to become Director of Group Life for the Summit County Children's Home in 1961. In 1963,

he became Director of Campus Life at the Florida United Methodist Children's Home at Enterprise. He moved to the position of Director of Casework Services four years later. In 1972 he was appointed an assistant professor in the Social Work Program at the University of Central Florida. He currently holds that position having received tenure in 1978.

Tropf is a member of the American Sociological Association, the National Council on Family Relations, the Florida Council on Family Relations, the National Association of Social Workers and the Academy of Certified Social Workers. He is currently secretary of the Florida Council on Family Relations.

He has served as a consultant to the Group Child Care Project of the University of North Carolina School of Social Work and the Florida Group Child Care Association, as well as several children's homes. He also edited the Group Child Care Training Manual, a publication sponsored by the Florida Group Child Care Association.

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

E. Wilbur Bock, Chairman
Professor of Sociology

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Felix M. Berardo
Professor of Sociology

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Gerald R. Leslie
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Gordon F. Streib
Professor of Sociology

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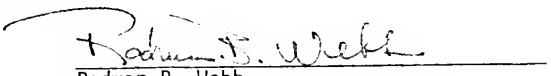

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This dissertation was submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the Department of Sociology in the College of Arts and Sciences and to the Graduate Council, and was accepted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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